1994

Consequences of the British model of education in colonized third world nations with special reference to India

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Consequences of the British Model of Education in Colonized Third World Nations with Special Reference to India

by

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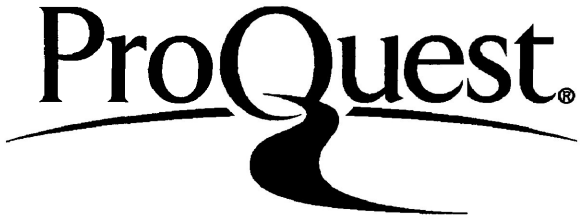
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies of Lakehead University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Education.

School of Education

Lakehead University
Thunder Bay, Ontario

November, 1994



ISBN 0-612-09230-5

ABSTRACT

The central proposition of this study was to examine the consequences of the British Model of Education in colonized Third World countries. One of the causes of underdevelopment is the dominance of industrialized nations over less developed countries. It is the structure of the colonial metropolis that was the cause of dependency of Third World nations. The dependency theory explains the process of national economic development in underdeveloped nations, emphasizing the structural dissimilarities between Western economic development and the contemporary situation of Third World countries. Economic resources of Third World countries, once under the British colonial policy, were exploited. In keeping with this policy, formal education was left to be developed by the missionaries with the active encouragement and support of the colonial government. The education of Indian elites was supported by, as well as, dominated by the colonial government. This thesis sought to illustrate the theoretical and practical consequences of the British Model of Education in colonized Third World nations. This was completed through an analysis of the educational structure in India that produced particular types of behaviour that maintained colonial dominance. Consequences of colonial education for India were discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Fentey Scott, my supervisor, for his consistent support and guidance throughout my research. It was he, who encouraged me to take the route of writing a thesis. Dr. Scott worked patiently with me exploring my thesis topic. Without his constant personal and intellectual support this dissertation would never have been completed.

This dissertation benefited greatly from the comments and suggestions of the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Madhat Rahim and Dr. Raul Ruiperez. I am especially indebted to Dr. Raul Ruiperez who offered many helpful suggestions. I am grateful for Drs. Rahim and Ruiperez's advice but I alone assume responsibility for my mistakes contained herein and the limitation of the study.

Many other individuals were of great assistance in various phases of the research. I would like to extend my appreciation to many graduate and undergraduate students at Lakehead University who contributed to the completion of my thesis.

To my parents, my brothers, and my sister who supported me emotionally whenever necessary and who were always an incentive for me to pursue this endeavour, and to all those mentioned above, as well as to many others whose names are unmentioned, I present my most sincere gratitude.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the major long-range objectives of education is to further the learner's ability to master ideas, information, and skills. Another objective is to make people "better off" economically and socially. Two key questions thus immediately arise. First of all, what is education? And, secondly, how can it be applied? The answer to the second question obviously rests in large part upon the answer to the first.

Education is concerned with progress. Education is to increase the productive ability of the work force. Its purpose is to make widely available, knowledge that seems to be useful and to help students develop learning skills. We have to help to bring about a more effective type of teaching in all subjects - a type of teaching which will combine thinking effort with learning effort, and thus develop thinking ability while implanting knowledge.

In most Third World countries, those individuals who are educated in Western tradition, bureaucrats, and property owners, feel that their socio-economic status is above others, particularly above those who are poor, uneducated, and come from the rural areas. The result is that they undermine their own educational system, fostering the dependency theory.[1]

In most developing nations opportunities are given to the individuals who are well positioned financially and socially; that

is to say those who are categorized as "upper class." The existence of class is a barrier for sharing ideas and creating a cooperative environment. This has been true since the colonial period of British dominance in India and in most Third World countries, and has continued until today.

In spite of these factors mentioned above, very little research has been done regarding the consequences of colonized education. It could be argued that the colonial education caused "development" in education, at least in some areas and that the economic system did not grow proportionally as to incorporate the product of development in education. The main objective of this study will be *to examine the consequences of the British model of education on its colonies, particularly India*.

Education and development are poorly interrelated in most underdeveloped nations. An examination of how education can be better applied in development will be discussed. Effective education controls population growth. An analysis of this hypothesis will provide the reader with some insight. The increasing public financial burden of education on less developed nations will be explained. Recommendations for further research in education and development will conclude this study.

Statement of the Problem

For years developing countries have endeavoured to develop their human resources. One of the principal resources, is a country's work force. The primary means of developing a work force is through education. A better educated work force is resourceful, imaginative and better suited to adapt to the changing world. Most developing countries are usually thought of as agrarian societies with highly illiterate populations. To develop their human resources these countries have adapted the European model of education: primary, secondary and post-secondary education. This model was first imposed on colonies by the colonial governments such as Great Britain in 1857 and continued to be used after independence. This was in the early 1950's after United Nations' recommendations for providing a basic universal education to the entire population of the world.

Barnett (1989) expressed a worthy view on the problem of the Third World educational system. He states that "the educational systems of the Third World, established during the colonial period, on European models, are important to people and to governments and continue to take major portions of national budgets" (p. 138). According to Barnett, as far as the state is concerned education is "good." However, he suggests that there is not a visible and clear relationship between education, economic growth and development, and the link "is as yet poorly understood." Can there be a strong

linkage between education and economic development for the development of Third World nations? Barnett continues to state that for the masses, "it contains the promise of joining the elite, getting a 'professional' job, and working for the state." A strong quest for education exists among people and the states in many developing nations. However, as Barnett has pointed out "for many educated individuals 'the state'... represents class interests" (p. 138). A fundamental question which still remains unanswered is whether education and class interest are linked and how this linkage leads to economic growth.

An example of a European model of education in the Third World is the British model of education in India. Britain is an industrialized nation. Its system of education is based on British principles. India is an agrarian society. Its values and systems are different from British principles. Therefore, one might argue that the British system of education would hinder economic development in India and, conversely, the economy of India would hinder the success of British education. British model of education has not been adapted to suit the Indian society. The British model of education develops a class based society and creates elitism.

It is essential to examine, from an educational perspective, to what extent education has reinforced underdevelopment in Third World countries such as India, once under British rule. Education, one of the most important elements of human capital, is supposed to promote economic growth. The question remains: Has education, under the British model, had any significant impact on the economic

development of these countries?

This study attempts to answer the question:

What have been the consequences of the British model of education on colonized Third World Countries particularly India?

In order to achieve a full understanding of the problem and to give adequate interpretation to the findings, the study will explore the following questions as they relate to the Third World and India in particular.

***What are the consequences of different levels of education (primary, secondary and higher)?**

***To what extent has the British Model of Education changed the level of literacy?**

***How does education reduce population growth?**

***What are the consequences of funding?**

Rationale and Significance of Study

Third World underdevelopment is the product of colonial imperialism and capitalist expansion. "The West developed precisely because it was underdeveloping the Third World, whilst the Third World became underdeveloped in aiding the ascendancy of the West" (Hoogvelt, 1976, p. 7). Griffin (1973) argues that "Europe did not "discover" the underdeveloped countries; on the contrary, she created them" (p. 72).

Most developing countries have adopted an educational model which has its roots and ideals grounded in colonialism. This model of education indoctrinated the belief that the "school has a monopoly on formal education" (Illich, 1973, p. 405). Since formal education was not easily attainable this allowed for the creation of an elite class, while the burden of taxation for the system was placed on the uneducated. "The illiterate can be taxed to provide free high school and university education for the children of the rich" (Illich, 1973, p. 405).

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyze the consequences of British model of education in India. The study is important because it clarifies the consequences of the British colonial system of education in India. Also, it is significant in that it explains the value of education in India, why India's educational system functions on British colonial model of education, and why this particular system of education contributed

to underdevelopment in India.

Understanding the consequences of colonization in India is worthwhile as it leads to awareness of problems related to colonization in other Third World countries. This understanding has the potential of preventing recurrence of such problems in the developing nations.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this study is that it provides knowledge to professionals in the field of education which may assist them both in developing strategies to improve the educational standards and conditions in which they operate and also in the reformulation of an appropriate educational model based on indigenous value and system of education.

The British system of education has promoted colonial dependency and consequently produced a general development for a few elites, but underdevelopment for the vast majority of the people of India.

Methodology

This was essentially a historical study. In order to examine the problem, I used the following sources: books, government documents, historical documents, various media, scientific journals, and related materials.

The books informed the author about theoretical and historical backgrounds as well as some data, established ideas, and provocative thoughts. They also provided a good comprehensive overview of theories and research developed and tested to date.

Government documents understandably provided statistical data through graphs and tables, while historical documents contributed historical background and information on India.

Documents available through the various media such as the Globe and Mail, and television documentaries such as Legacy produced recent data on Third World countries particularly India and its problems.

Scientific journals contained some current theory and data.

I analyzed the information above to determine the positive and negative consequences of British colonial education on colonized Third World nations with special reference to India.

All the materials mentioned above (except television documentaries) were made available to the author by the Lakehead University Library.

While an attempt has been made here to point out what were the

sources most useful for dealing with those consequences, it must be pointed out that specific sources were found to be more useful in examining certain issues, and therefore a variety of resources was required to carry out a complete examination of the whole topic. All the data collected were organized on the basis of the problems set out under the heading "The Problem."

Study Limitations

Conclusions arising from the results of this study must be considered with regard to the following limitations:

1. British Model of Education is not exclusively responsible for underdevelopment of India. To explore this fully would require extensive investigation beyond the scope of this effort. This study makes a partial attack on the problem.

2. The research is limited to analysis of documents.

Definition of Operational Terms

The following terms which are used throughout this study are defined in this section to ensure a mutual understanding between the reader and the author.

British Model of Education refers to the training and/or education of the native people (e.g., Indian), particularly those from urban areas, in English language. This model consists of primary, secondary, and higher education.[2]

Dependence is defined as an economic reliance of a lesser developed nation on a more progressive industrialized country. Any severance of this relationship by virtue of its very nature will adversely affect the lesser developed nation.

Development. Portes (1973) defines development as a complex of three main criteria: (1) Economically, sharp and sustained increases in national product; generation of centers of self-sustained growth, mainly in industry. (2) Socially, redistribution of national income on an egalitarian basis; incorporation of marginal masses into the money economy. (3) Culturally, emergence of a new national self-image, confident of the future and willing to make sacrifices to bridge the gap with the developed world (p. 253).

Education refers to formal and informal learning in a society. Informal learning takes place both within institutions other than schools - such as the family - and in different aspects of the

culture - such as news media and street culture.

Human resources refers to people. These are considered a significant asset to their society.

Imperialism is defined by Kemp (1972) as principally or exclusively the relationship between the advanced, imperial countries, such as Great Britain, and the colonial or semi-colonial areas or countries, such as India, falling within its formal or informal empire (p. 18).

Modernization is defined as cultural, economic, political, and social changes from traditional to what it is now in the Western World. It favours the Westernized urban, upper and middle strata and labour aristocracy and it leads to increased inequalities between the social classes and also between the rural and urban regions.

Third World or developing countries (used interchangeably in this thesis) refers to the many underdeveloped nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have certain common characteristics which classify them within this category. Some of these characteristics do not apply to all equally, but are generalized to simplify their classification. Generally, these characteristics include a predominantly non-white population, poor, underdeveloped, agricultural societies with high illiteracy rates, high birthrates, low per capita incomes, substandard living conditions, and low productivity rates. Often, a shortage of technical and human skills exists. Education is usually for the rich and the elite of the society; therefore most of the population is uneducated. Another

common trait of the Third World countries is political and national instability with tendencies to political violence and military uprisings.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized in the following manner:

Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical framework underlying the study.

Chapter 3 examines the history of colonial education in India and the relationship between education and development .

Chapter 4 is devoted to an examination of education and demography in Third World countries.

Chapter 5 specifically examines the relationship of education and demography in India.

Chapter 6 concludes the study with a discussion of consequences and an outline of conclusions and recommendations for areas of further study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The ideas about what constitute development in Third World nations have undergone a number of changes since beginning of colonialism. The predominance of modernization theory since World War II has given way to challenges offered by dependency theorists. That is to say, the ideas of positive development contained in modernization theory conflict with the idea of appropriateness in dependency theory. Development, according to dependency theorists consists of appropriate economic and technological conditions of various kinds as well as appropriate social institutions (such as medical facilities, educational and governmental planning institutions) and value orientations (Worsley, 1984, p. 17). Although one could give more specific attention to conflict in value orientations, perceived from different perspective of two theories, this is not the primary concern of this chapter. What is proposed to be accomplished in this chapter is to explore the nature of these two theories.

Modernization Theory

Modernization theory was formed based on the sociological writings of Talcott Parsons. It aimed at transforming Third World

societies along the lines of changes that had taken place in the developed Western countries. Rucker (1991) argues that the role of education and social development came out of Parsons' (1951,1966) structural functionalism. Harrison (1988) (cited in Rucker, 1991) further states that "this perspective, along with contributions from evolutionism, diffusionism, systems theory, and interactionism became known as modernization theory" (p. 455). Hoogvelt (1976) argues that modernization is "that process of social change in which tradition-bound villages or tribal-based societies are compelled to react to the pressures and demands of the modern, industrialized, urban-centred world" (p. 143).

The most appropriate conceptual model of modernization is Black's (1966) comparative study of the process. He defines modernization as "the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution" (p. 7). Black's definition is based on a broad holistic view covering the complexity and interrelatedness of all aspects of the process rather than merely a part. According to Black (1966) modernity is used "to describe the characteristics common to countries that are most advanced in technological, political, economic and social development,and 'modernization' to describe the process by which they acquired these characteristics" (p. 6).

In a general sense, writes Black (1966) "Europeanization" and "Westernization" are also employed to describe "the impact in

recent times of the more advanced countries on the less advanced" (P. 6). Harrison's (1988) perception of modernization concurs with that of Black. Harrison (1988) defines modernization as "what is 'up to date' in a specific location at any given time" (p. xiii). He further states that modernization is the outcome of a process of "Westernization." This process involves "economic, political, social and cultural changes which contrast with a previous 'traditional' stability."

Black (1966) divides human activity into five different aspects: Intellectual, political, economic, social, and psychological. For him, the political aspects of modernization refer to the ensemble of structural and cultural changes in the political systems of modernizing societies. The functions of a modern state require the rule of law maintained by a highly organized bureaucracy and a close rapport between the state and every member of society. He uses policy-making in the private and public domain as his primary basis for studying the process of modernization. The economic aspect of modernization follows the political area and is dependent upon its successful accomplishment. Black (1966) states that: "A traditional rural community may be virtually self-sufficient ... whereas a modern community may devote all of its efforts to a few products and purchase the greater part of its needed supplies from outside" (p. 18).

Rucker (1991) asserts that education is seen by modernization theories as a "key institution in the social system performing functions of socialization, including the development of job

skills, norms, nationalism, integration, and acquisition of the dominant culture's language" (p. 456).

Modernization is the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. Modernization may lead to rising output per capita which will lead to an improvement in societal environment. As people's income rises, their standard of living and life style begin to change. As a result, urbanization, extension of literacy and a more equal distribution of income may follow. Black (1966) argues that all members of a society tend in the long run to become better off as the society industrializes. "In a relative sense, the traditional world was socially stable, with patterns of behaviour tending to remain constant from generation to generation" (P.25). Yet under modern condition, the relative stability of traditional society is lacking.

One characteristics of modernization is that it leads to the destruction of the old way of life, disintegration of traditional norms and values, and to social disorganization. In this connection, Black (1966) asserts that modernization is then thought of as a "process that is simultaneously creative and destructive, providing new opportunities and prospects at a high price in human dislocation and suffering" (p. 27). In his book *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1973) Freire's analysis of the relations between technology and modernization demonstrates "how to avoid the traditionalism of the status quo without falling into technological messianism." He further states that "while all development is

modernization, not all modernization is development" (P. xii).

Frank (cited in Harrison, 1988) argues that modernization theory is "empirically invalid", "theoretically inadequate" and "politically inadequate." He further states that:

> Economic development and cultural change of an underdeveloped country through the promotion and rise of the middle classes ... has not occurred because, among other reasons, it is physically impossible for it to occur given the structure of the system: it only leads to the further underdevelopment of the majority (Harrison, 1988, p. 78).

Rucker (1991) interprets Wallerstein's conception of world systems theory to include a role for education to help create a universal ideology. For Wallerstein (cited in Rucker, 1991) "education is a fundamental institution which can promote consensus about capitalistic development in Third World countries, particularly in the cultural and technical realms" (p. 455).

Bowles and Gintis (1976), Collins (1977) and Craig (1981) (cited in Rucker, 1991) argue that the purpose of education is for social control. They believe that education "socializes people into a formal, hierarchical society which increasingly emphasizes order and rational administration. People become docile, obedient and disciplined; characteristics important in Third World societies rampant with social change and conflict" (p. 456). Arnove (1980) (cited in Rucker,1991) further adds that "the political regime within each country determines to what extent education programs are utilized for purposes of social control" (p. 456).

Education is a process which is applied and adopted in all developed societies. It is generally free from irrational principles and constitutes part of our lives. According to

Trzcinski and Randolph (1991), "educated parents tend to foster healthier and better nourished children. Their children therefore tend to be more productive throughout their life cycles" (p. 154). As Less (1988) has indicated parents with some degree of education tend to respect and understand the value of education and, as a result, are more inclined to sacrifice for their children's education. "They become more willing to make the quality-for-quantity-of-children substitution" (p. 19). Barnett (1989) claims that:

> For the modernization theorists, there was never any doubt that education was a good thing. Indeed, it would not be going too far to say that for them, education is the royal road to development. It provides skilled people, who become productive "human capital." It forms the basis of national consciousness, and thus enables political sophistication. Culturally, it releases people from the bonds of superstition, enabling them to act rationally rather than traditionally, as Weber might have said .... It is the way forward to economic growth and out of the drudgery of rural life (p. 137).

Dependency Theory

Modernization theory and dependency theory are considered as exclusive and hostile rivals. Although modernization theory was very influential in the Western World, it was challenged by the more politically oriented dependency approach. The dependency approach emerged from a group of Latin American economists, such as Raul Prebish, during the 1960's and continued to be very influential in the 1970's. By this view, economic backwardness resulted mainly from the disparities in economic terms between Latin American nations and the industrialized world. To reduce this

dependency on the developed nations, Latin American nations employed a strategy based on the following policies: a dual policy of state-protected industrialization and import substitution aided by foreign investment. Frank (1981) argues that:

> During the Great Depression of the 1930's and the wartime 1940's, unequal capitalist development generated the growth of "import substitution" in parts of Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, India, and (with special conditions) in South Africa, and after the war in Israel. These economic and political units, and to a much lesser extent some others elsewhere in the Third World, came to occupy an intermediate place and to play a semi-peripheral role (p. 3-4).

The import-substitution approach was adopted by many Third World nations as an alternative to the free-market policies advocated by modernization theorists. The attractiveness of the approach lay in its perceived potential for altering the international division of labour. It also reduces Third World nations' vulnerability to the world market fluctuation by creating strong backward and forward linkages among the various sections of their economies. Despite some initial success, however, the state-sponsored import substitution approach ultimately reproduced many of the problems it was designed to overcome (Hoogvelt, 1982).

From the failure of the import-substitution strategy in Latin America by the early 1960's, more Marxists view points of the dependency approach arose. Even though there has been some significant changes among dependency theorists in their views, they all retained the notion of Third World backwardness. However, their positions may be seen as more radical at this point as they incorporate a Marxist emphasis on imperialism and exploitation. The problems of development are subsequently seen to be the result of

the disadvantageous position most underdeveloped countries occupy within a world capitalist system. Historical research indicates that present underdevelopment is significantly "the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries" (Frank, 1973, p. 95). According to Harrison (1988) "it is incorrect to argue that industrialization and development occur only when a country is closely linked to the West. The links ... serve only to reinforce dependence" (p. 82). Dos Santos (1970) defines the concept of dependence as:

> A situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development (p. 231).

Ballantine (1989) argues that both world system theory[3] and dependency theory, challenge the claim that education is a positive force in economic development. In Ballantine's words:

> Dependency and world system scholars argue that: (1) the global capitalist economy is a holistic system characterized by structural inequalities both between and within nation-states; (2) the economies of Third World nations were systematically plundered and *underdeveloped* in earlier historical epochs and now constitute a peripheral component of the global system which continues to supply raw materials and cheap labour to the industrial centers; (3) the expropriation of profit and surplus value by core nations and multinational corporations depended upon the complicity and power of national elites who were usually educated in Western school systems; and (4) by seeking to maximize returns to foreign investments and by setting national priorities according to foreign standards, the actions of the national bourgeois have intensified internal inequalities, reinforced the dependency

> of Third World nations and retarded long-term economic development (Ballantine, 1989, p. 301).

Ballantine (1989) further suggests that according to these views, education plays a minor role in determining or influencing economic development.

Arnove (1980) argues that the position of a country within the international network conditions the effects of intranational economic, political, and socio-cultural factors on educational development or underdevelopment. Arnove (1980) further states that this view helps to explain the "dominance of metropolitan languages in former colonies; the textbooks, curricula, and technologies in use; the types of reforms adopted and their frequent failure" (p. 50). Arnove (1980) relates one meaning of development to the "extension and expansion of formal schooling" (p. 50). He suggests that the following reinforce the definition of development:

> -networks of international technical assistance,
>
> -existence of higher-education systems in Third World countries closely resembling those of metropolitan centers, and serving as points of mutual contacts as well as foreign penetration, and
>
> -existence of international networks of researchers and research centers.

Arnove (1980) believes that the above networks are the keys for the development and linking of higher-education institutions and faculty. This demonstrates an interconnection of world system in education.

According to Barnett (1989) dependency theorists see the

content and form of education in the Third World as another aspect of dependence. "Third World education ... takes the developed world as its model" (p. 138). Dependency theorists believe that the Third World education:

> emphasises education of the elites at the expense of the poor. Its content is irrelevant to the needs of the poor countries, which require more good farmers and skilled artisans and fewer lawyers, economists, sociologists and physicists. Western-style education deepens and perpetuates dependency (Barnett, 1989, p. 138).

Di Tella (cited in Stewart, 1969) suggests that populist movements[4] characterize the elites by "some sort of status incongruence" (p. 193). The situation in which education outstrips economic growth is claimed to be as one of the sources of incongruence. According to Stewart (1969) this situation has been a frequent source of populist elites, producing as it does those groups of intellectuals and/or students who are frustrated and humiliated by the backwardness of their society. For examples Stewart mentions the new states of Africa and Asia.

Dependency theory maintains that the economic development of industrial societies in the West rests on the expropriation of an economic surplus from overseas societies. Third World countries are underdeveloped as a consequence of their precarious reliance on export-oriented primary production. Populists according to Kitching (1982) take the position that industrialization in Third World nations fails because it "massively exacerbates relative inequalities in society, inequalities between individuals and social groups, between town and countryside, between region and region, and between nation and nation" (p. 22). Dependency theory

is elaborated by Frank (1967), who analyzes underdevelopment in terms of a global network of exploitation between metropolis and satellite societies. As Kitching (1982) has suggested both populism and dependency theory share in common "a denial of the possibility of capitalist industrialization in "late-starting" nations ... and also a tendency to locate the source of exploitation and inequality in the realm of exchange relationships" (p. 175). The most common characteristics of dependence as mentioned by Lall (1975) are:

> -A heavy penetration of foreign capital,
> -the use of advanced, foreign, capital-intensive technologies in a relatively small industrial sector,
> -specialization in exports of primary commodities or labour-intensive manufactures,
> -elite consumption patterns determined by those of the advanced countries,
> -'unequal exchange', in various senses, and
> -growing inequalities in income distribution and rising unemployment, especially in urban areas (p. 803).

Less advanced societies according to Lall (1975), "depend" for their industrial technology on advanced countries. He claims that this technology is in some ways "inappropriate" to the production and consumption needs of underdeveloped societies and that it "leads to social ills, misdirected science and education policies, and to a self-perpetrating structure of technological backwardness" (p. 804).

Dependency theorists appeal to unequal exchange, world-system, core and periphery, "small is beautiful," delinking, or adjustment as the basis of their theory. Modernization theory can often be best understood not as a particular development, but rather as a recurring pattern of consistent dialogue regarding development. Modernization theory considers underdevelopment to be an "original"

(natural) state rather than a created condition characterized by traditionalism and backwardness. The theory ignores global economic history. It sees no connection between Western development and the creation of underdevelopment in the Third World. It sees no differences between past Western development and the Third World development today. Yet modernization theory became the basis of development planning for the governments of the developed countries, aid agencies and the Third world governments. It features replacement of backward, undesirable and traditional characteristics by modern Western ways.

Dependency theorists frequently emphasis the claim that the development of Western nations is largely based on exploitation of the human capital and resources of the Third World nations which does not foster national growth. They see no improvement in the situation - for example, export oriented industrialization creates more dependency on the developed world for capital markets and technology.

This author suggest that as long as this dependency on Western technology and trade remains, there is little hope for genuine national development. The approach taken by dependency theorists seems to better fit the characteristics of the Third World nations than the approach taken by modernization theorists.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a specific review of literature. This review is related to the history of colonial education in a subcontinent which used to be called India or Hindustan. In 1947, the year of independence, India was partitioned into two dominions - India and Pakistan (Knowles, 1977; Mukerji, 1974). In addition, this review discusses the relationships between education and development in the Third World countries.

Early Approaches to Education in India

The origins of the British colonial education in India go back to early 19th century "with the Charter Act of 1813 by which Parliament directed the East India Company to spend a sum of not less than Rupees 100,000 a year for educational purpose" (Mukherjee, 1967, p. 57). DI Bona (1977) states that "... use of government money for the support of indigenous schools was defeated by Macaulay's famous Minute" (p. 609). It was declared that English would become the language of "instruction in Indian schools and that British ideas were easily the better of all the books of India" (p. 609). Consequently English language was established as

the official language and medium of instruction in India.

According to Laska (1968) one of the earliest advocates of Western schooling in India was Charles Grant. "He saw education as a means of bringing Indians into closer association with their British rulers, spreading the benefits of Western civilization, and most important, facilitating the acceptance of the Christian religion" (p. 9). In order to Westernize the Indian society, Bearce (1961) quotes James Mill (one of the first spokesmen of the Liberal movement) as saying that "Liberal measures in general might advance Indians towards better institutions and help solve the problem of poverty" (p. 76). Bearce further states that Mill assumed the proliferation of "useful books," "the establishment of a free press," the advantages "British capital" might bring, and "the colonization of British manufacturers and merchants" would lead to an increased moral and intellectual standard in the nation. "India's future lay in westernization" (p. 76).

India had a fairly well-established indigenous system of education before the arrival of British (Di Bona, 1977). This is demonstrated by the fact that this system of education was "comparable in quality to that of any country in the world" (Varghese, 1986, p. 118). The indigenous educational system had a number of features. The system was very thorough, as students were given a vocational training according to their family tradition in farming and other skilled occupation. Thus "specialization was stressed" (Mukerji, 1974, p. 3). The indigenous system of education was supported at a local level, which meant it was free of

administrative support and control by other levels of government. Before the arrival of British "a state administrative machinery of modern type did not exist and education was self-controlled" (Mukerji, 1974, p. 3).

Each village had a school during the fifties and sixties of the last century. The system was personal with the average school being small, having only one to ten or fifteen students and centered around a single teacher. The teacher taught everything he knew until he was physically and mentally exhausted. The majority of students were from the upper classes, but sometimes there were students from the disadvantaged classes, such as, *wanis*, and *banias* (Di Bona, 1977; Dikshit, 1966).

The elementary schools were simple. "They had no buildings of their own, and were usually held in the house of the teacher, or sometimes also in the open air .... There were no regular classes, no fixed hours of study, no time-table and no rules of admission" (Dikshit, 1966, p. 17). It was a very casual arrangement between the pupils and the teacher.

Methods of teaching were traditional. There were no printed books, knowledge was, therefore given orally, and repetition was considered to be the most effective way of learning. A significant feature of the teaching methods adopted in these indigenous schools was the practice of putting the new students under the supervision of senior students. In this manner the senior students were able to assist the new students with their learning, and reporting their work and behaviour to the teacher (Dikshit, 1966).

According to Dikshit (1966), the indigenous system of education had the following limitations. (1) It was a privileged system for the children of the financially better off families, and untouchables and girls were excluded from them. (2) Their methods of teaching were far from satisfactory partly because school building and its facilities were substandard. (3) There was no uniformity in teaching methods, no common objectives, and no standard curriculum.

These schools whether the *tols* and *madrassahs* (the seats of higher Sanskrit and Arabic learning), or *pathshalas* and *maktabs* (Hindu and Muslim elementary school), were an integral part of the community's social life, but were only one aspect of a rich and traditional way of life that characterized India before Westernization (Di Bona, 1977; Mukerji, 1974; Dikshit, 1966).[5]

According to Howell (1872) (cited in Mukerji, 1974), in order to modernize the educational system, the British first ignored, then opposed the indigenous educational system and finally introduced their own system. Varghese (1986) has similar view of the problem.

> The British deliberately destroyed the indigenous system of education in India and introduced in its place what is now characterized as modern education. Since it was transplanted and exogenously superimposed on a backward economic system, it neither flourished as it did in Western countries nor helped to develop the existing system of education" (P. 118).

The British educational objectives were two fold: (i) to produce cheap lower-level administrative staff, such as clerks," and (ii) to obtain the support of the upper-middle class sections of Indian society." These objective were achieved through the

"filtering down" and the "two-tier systems of education" (Varghese, 1986, p. 118). Di Bona (1977) describes the concept of "downward filtration" as a method of civilizing the Indian society by the pouring in of ideas to the colleges which will eventually "filter down to the masses" (p. 609).

The cultural imperialism of the English language was hidden chiefly in the curriculum and imparted through "cultural values to the Indian students who were drawn chiefly from upper-middle class families." This policy which they used was reinforced because the students they produced were "more English than the English themselves" (Varghese, 1986, p. 118). The English divided the people and selected a desirable population into whom they wished to instill their culture. Education according to Varghese (1986) then became a source of "cultural imperialism."[6]

In their attempts to develop their colonies the English employed a system of education with two primary goals: " (i) to Westernize the urban areas; and (ii) to urbanize the rural areas." They applied a system of education to teach "the three R's" (reading, writing, and arithmetic) at the elementary level conforming with the existing format, to teach "the English language" at the secondary level and at the higher level "to fulfil the main objective, which was to spread Western knowledge through the English language" (Varghese, 1986, p. 118).

As part of their modernization and educational plan, the British spent money "exclusively in cities" and on colleges "where the loyal servants and clerks would be trained to help administer

the affairs of empire." They established universities in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras as "exclusively urban and administrative units" (Di Bona, 1977, p. 609). However, the products of these schools contributed to the "national awareness" and "independence of India."[7]

One unusual aspect of English education in India, according to Varghese (1986) was its concentration on "general subjects" and avoidance of "scientific and technical education." He claims that the neglect of these areas of study created a gap between the ruling power and its colonies. It also enlarged the differences in two respects: "between types of education and between levels of education" (p. 119). This contributed to the "intellectual" reliance on the ruling power by the colonies. Varghese (1986) believes that the English language and "vernacular" education created a discrepancy between "the elite and the masses" as English was a means of entry to the elite class. Further, the English education attracted those intellectually superior individuals from the rural to the metropolitan centers. Varghese (1986) quotes Altbach and Kelly as saying:

> In the colonial situation the school was detached from the indigenous cultures, in the languages and in the social values they taught. Colonial schools were set up as alternatives rather than as complements to the colonial educational practices. Colonial schools never held out the prospects of integration into indigenous culture to those who attended them (p. 119).

This method of education allowed for the development of an elitist philosophy - "all that is rural is bad, all that is urban is better and all that is foreign is best" (Varghese, 1986, p. 119). The

British imposed the English language as well as a dependency on the English model of education on India. At present the English language is still predominantly used by the elite and the educated in India. This is illustrated by the fact that many books are published using the English language.

The English education in India has succeeded in its domination of Indian culture and values. The educational policy that the British imposed on India was partly responsible for the creation of rural neglect and the advancement of urban areas. As Di Bona (1977) states "the one sector through its exploitation of capital, labour, and raw materials effectively prevents the growth and development of the other" (p. 610). British used the colonies for their social, economic, and industrial progress. Urban areas were developed for the use of the colonial power at the expense of underdeveloped and/or rural areas. According to Stavenhagen (1968) the less developed regions are "essentially colonies of the developing urban centers and productive agricultural areas" (p. 13). Stavenhagen claims that "exploitation of capital," "raw materials," "foodstuffs" and "the labor force" in the underdeveloped regions allows the growth of the "modern" sectors; "their development is at the expense of the stagnation and underdevelopment of these 'traditional' areas" (p. 13).

In conclusion, the expansion of education and educational facilities by the British in India did not produce a literate population. Rather, the British destroyed the indigenous system of education and replaced it with a model of education which

emphasized the English language as its focus in the curriculum. The British put emphasis on the growth and development of elite class, particularly in urban areas, and neglected rural regions.

Education and Development

Schumacher (1973), in his book *Small is Beautiful* explores the power of human intellect. According to Schumacher (1973) "it is man, not nature, who provides the primary resource: that the key factor of all economic development comes out of the mind of man" (p. 64). Therefore education is important as the human intellect is developed and expanded to achieve its potential in various aspects of life. Schumacher (1973) sums up the whole matter of the education in the question:

> What is education for? I think it was the Chinese ... who calculated that it took the work of thirty peasants to keep one man or woman at a university. If that person at the university took a five-year course, by the time he had finished he would have consumed 150 peasant-work-years. How can this be justified? ... These questions lead us to the parting of the ways: is education to be a "passport to privilege" or is it something which people take upon themselves almost like a monastic vow, a sacred obligation to serve the people? The first road takes the educated young person into a fashionable district of Bombay .... The other way ... would lead to a different destination. It would take him back to the people who ... had paid for his education by 150 peasant-work-years; having consumed the fruits of their work, he would feel in honour bound to return something to them (p. 173).

Lack of education can be considered as one of the major factors that support underdevelopment. Education relates to development through the ideal that if a population is educated, it is more productive and able to find work. Therefore, education

becomes an important element of human capital. One of the primary goals of education is to teach reading, writing and mathematical skills to the future work force. Mathematics is a major device for learning logic, association, relationship, and correlation. It is the tool for people to think and observe. According to Stumph (1983), Rene Descartes (the father of modern philosophy) found that mathematics best exemplified "clear and precise thinking." Stumpf further states that what interested him was the fact that our minds have the capability to know certain ideas with clarity and distinctness. "Mathematical reasoning showed him that we are able to discover what we do not know by progressing in an orderly way from what we do know" (p. 231).

Simpson and Weiner (1989) define education as "the process of 'bringing up' (young persons); the manner in which a person has been 'brought up'; with reference to social station, kind of manners and habits acquired ..." through "systematic instruction ... in preparation for the work of life" (p. 74). In other words, "social station" refers to a country or individual culture in which each "station" is distinguished by its own manners and habits which are portrayed through schooling. Hardiman and Midgley (1989) state that "education is not just a question of formal schooling. It is a lifelong process" (p. 191). The method of teaching is very important for Curle (1973) since he suggests that "we must find out how to teach people so that from early childhood they not only learn how to do things, but how to think about the meaning of what they are learning and doing" (p. 142). Curle (1973) believes that

change is possible for the developing societies but only "through the development of their people." According to Curle (1973) this refers to "people whose education has made them free and flexible, not those who have merely learned to perform a task, however useful" (p. 142).

For Dore (1976) not all schooling is education. He contends that much of schooling is "mere qualification-earning .... And more qualification-earning is *mere* qualification-earning - ritualistic, tedious, suffused with anxiety and boredom, destructive of curiosity and imagination; in short, anti-educational" (p. ix). Dore (1976) further states that for the school systems of underdeveloped world this becomes a disaster. Barnett (1989) adds that such academic education "reinforces a view of society which emphasises academic education and the superiority of mental as opposed to manual work;" (p. 143) and it is expected to follow the pattern of education in the industrialized world.

Developing countries also known as the Third World are primarily agrarian societies. Investing public money into education would enable them to achieve the educated work force that manufacturing industry requires. And, as the society moves from an agrarian to a manufacturing then on to an industrial base it is perceived to have developed. Public investment into schooling is a necessity for development, otherwise schools would only be accessible to the economically advantaged minority. The majority of the population would have to depend on traditional methods of education such as skills taught by parents or ideas taught in

religious institutions. These traditional methods may ensure that the population remain agrarian based.

Since, it is generally agreed that improving one's education increases a person's potential income, it can be deduced that a shift from an agrarian society to a manufacturing based society would improve a country's earning potential. Although this is generally accepted, it is a long process. Improvements of educational system of a country does not necessarily mean that it can escape the bonds of poverty.

For a country to achieve social and economic development it needs a good mix of human resources; graduates from basic and secondary education, and a selection of graduates from higher education such as engineers, managers, technicians, and computer scientists. Development would be hard to attain if majority of students participated in arts degree programs; yet, according to Hardiman and Midgley (1989) this has been the experience of some countries such as Tanzania, where "ninety per cent of the labour force is in agriculture, only has eleven per cent of its students in higher education enrolled in agriculture or engineering; Malaysia, another country with an important agricultural sector, has only nineteen per cent in these two fields" (p. 191). Hogendorn (1987) mentions that over 60 per cent of students in underdeveloped nations study arts subjects. "Of students in their final year in India's universities, recently 84 per cent were in the arts, the law, and the social sciences. Only 7 per cent were in science and technology, only 2 per cent were in agriculture" (p. 237).

Agricultural education in Third World nations is not viewed as a top priority to students as compared, for example, to medicine or engineering. This is due to the commonly held belief that agricultural education will not lead to a prosperous occupation (Den Bor and Shute, 1991; Khan, 1988). Khan (1988) makes some references to UNESCO statistics from 1984 which indicate that "in Bangladesh in 1984 out of a total of 436,615 students enrolled in higher education, only 4,366 chose agriculture, forestry and fisheries while 100,421 chose the social sciences .... In India in 1980 the total was 5,345,580 out of which 47,970 enrolled in agricultural and related subjects and 867,538 in social sciences ..." (p. 5). Ben Bor and Shute (1991) relate this low status to the low status in agriculture in general and believe that the expectations of earning a reasonable income and building a career in the agricultural sector are gloomy. The national plans of developing countries reflect the importance of education. Great faith was put on education as being the key to development in the sixties. Many developing countries established schooling systems based on the British standard of primary, secondary and higher education. Ballantin (1989) argues that "Western-educated Third World leaders have perpetuated former colonial patterns which keep their countries in dependent positions. Education reproduced and reinforced the class structure of peripheral nations, strengthening the position of national elites" (p. 302). Unfortunately, two decades later and the allocation of large sums of borrowed resources, developing countries have not generated the results they

expected in terms of economic development. In fact, this expansion created new problems such as underemployment, educated unemployment and brain drain.[8] According to Hogendorn (1987) "over 30 per cent of the professional and technical personnel coming to the major countries involved in the brain drain in the last decade and a half has come from the Less Developed Countries. This includes engineers, managers, physicians, and nurses" (p.240).

What seems to be lacking in most underdeveloped countries is a proper coordination among primary, secondary and tertiary level of education. What is required is a functional cooperative effort and a more effective communication between all levels of education. Targets must be established for each level of education and type of discipline needed by each country. As well, each country must evaluate whether it needs a system based on the British model, or if it should develop a system specifically designed for its own needs in development.

How does education contribute to development?

The discussion of education and the effects of education are generally discussed as the relationships between education and population growth and education and political development.

Population growth and education can be viewed with the argument that an educated population usually has a longer life expectancy and those with a longer life expectancy generally have an "increased rate of savings and capital formation and an

enhancement of productivity" (Foster, 1987, p. 99). The relationship between education and fertility is such that those with few years of education (primary) generally have a higher birth rate, while the highly educated (post-secondary) generally have a lower birth rate, preferring "deferred marriage" and practicing of birth control. The relationship between education and life expectancy is such that "education is associated with increasing life expectancies due to improved nutrition and illness diagnosis and also with an income effect involving higher expenditures on food and housing" (Foster, 1987, p. 99).

Argument can be made for a stable political framework providing an orderly transfer of power, and safety for all citizens, which in turn could provide a basis for solid economic development. Furthermore, education can be considered as a major facilitator of a stable political framework in both the developed and underdeveloped nations. However, in underdeveloped nations, education can be linked to creating a politically unstable climate. This follows since education may lead to widespread political awareness. Specifically, in the case of a free and liberal education as opposed to an indoctrinated education, as people become more aware of the injustices and the positions of the elite they may act through violence for justice and demand for more equality of distribution of resources. Contrarily, Foster (1987) argues for a more passive view of the effects of education, arguing that "education is neither associated with increased personal commitment to the nation-state nor to the existing political order"

(p. 99).

The above relationship between education, economic development, and population growth provides us with a rather complex rapport, such that "population control can not be considered as a rationale for educational expansion" (Foster, 1987, p. 99).

Some important points of interest should be looked at with regard to education, economic development, and population growth. Education and the values and norms of society are examined by Foster (1987). McClelland and Inkeles (McClelland and Winter, 1969; Inkeles and Holsinger, 1974) suggesting that "education may operate through a transformation of values and attitudes and have direct implications for development" (p. 99). Further, Foster refers to McClelland arguing that a positive correlation exists between periods of development and the rise in the "need for achievement." This need for achievement comes largely through educational means and can lead to even further economic development. Supporting this idea, Inkeles (1974) using a model of structural and attitudinal modernity, implies that the "principal contribution of education to development lies in its ability to transform individual attitudes and values from the 'traditional' toward the 'modern.'" "According to Bennett (1977B) educational development has an even larger effect, "the system increasingly transmits values, and attitudes and even skills and knowledge, inconsistent with the real priorities of society" (p. 11).

Myrdal (1968) argues that from the point of view of

development, education must not only provide knowledge and skills but it must also "rationalize attitudes." For example, unlike developed countries where attitudes are already more rational, in South Asian countries (including India) stagnation and antagonistic attitudes towards development have resulted in entrenchment of the current, less effective educational practices, preventing a more rapid "dissemination of attitudes, knowledge and skills that favour development" (p. 1621). Furthermore, Myrdal (1968) suggests that these countries must overcome these attitudes if they are to effect more rapid progress, and if they are to overcome other factors, such as a high rate of population increase, that retard development. Attitudes may be changed through the education of adults. Myrdal (1968) states that irrationality, "ignorance, and lack of skills" within this age group "tend to thwart efforts" to improve child education.

Thus, according to Myrdal (1968), in addition to "expansion of educational facilities," and their reorganization to better "serve the various age groups, both sexes, and all social classes," a more purposeful "selection of the knowledge and skills taught, the attitudes implanted, and the learning methods employed" is required.

Googy and Watt (1968), in discussing education and the role of literacy with regard to development, view literacy as a proponent for enhancing communication. Further, Lerner (1958) argues that in less developed nations literacy of the population allows for increased economic development of the population.

Finally, Foster (1987) states that education of the population can act as a major component of responsible government. Chiefly, governance in the area of economic development, at least in the early stages of development where "research findings were used selectively to justify educational policies that had been decided upon for very different (often political) reasons" (p. 99).

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION AND DEMOGRAPHY IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Meaning of Education

Although economists from Adam Smith to Alfred Marshal have considered education as a form of capital formation[9], investment in human beings has only recently become the subject of empirical investigations.

The basic notion of education is that it increases the productive ability of the work force. Denison (1965) suggests two ways in which more education contributes to economic growth:

> First, it may raise the quality of labour force, defined to include all occupations from the highest to lowest.... Second, an upgrading of the educational background of the population may accelerate the rate at which society's stock of knowledge itself advances (p. 22).

As a result of improved education that may lead to improvements in channels of information and opportunities, the work force will be able to apply the most efficient techniques of production.

Measures of Education

There is no direct method of measuring the degree of effectiveness of education in Third World development. However, there are some crude methods of determining the amount of benefit people can receive from education, such as: the literacy rate, enrollment ratios and gross national product per capita. In order for these methods to demonstrate the degree of educational development, each must be compared to the quality of life obtained in developed countries. However, these comparisons do not reveal the quality of the education received in Third World countries. A high enrollment ratio, for example, does not necessarily means a good quality of education. The pupil/teacher ratio is the only indicator that is available for measuring this effectiveness. Yet, other factors such as the quality of teachers, equipment, facilities and the nature of the curriculum have more to do with the quality of the education received than pupil/teacher ratios. This study will look at some of the statistical figures for primary, secondary, and higher education.

Primary Education

> Most of the children of the world are not in school. Most of those who enter drop out after a very few years. Most of those who succeed in school still become dropouts at a higher level. UNESCO data show that only in a small minority of nations do even half the children complete the first six grades (Reimer, 1971, p. 21).

According to Reimer (1971) children who do not have the opportunity to attend school or who drop out early are led to the belief that the good life will never be within their reach. In other words, without education a child's full potential will never be achieved.

The underprivileged child who gains an education may be more dissatisfied with his life than a child with no education. "A little schooling can induce a lot of dissatisfaction. The more schooling a dropout has, the more it hurts him to drop out. The child who never learns to read can still accept his inferiority as a fact of life" (Reimer, 1971, p. 27). A poor child who attends school feels the injustice of his poverty because he has learned by associating with more affluent people that he is equally deserving of the opportunities his classmates have.

At primary level of education, 95 million enrollments were added in Third World countries from 1950 to 1965 at over 6 per cent per annum, and 38 million were added from 1965 to 1970 at 4.3 per cent per annum (see Table I). One could deduce that India was a major contributer to the enrollment increase (see Table VI, p. 75). The increase in enrollment fell to 3.4 per cent per annum in the late seventies. It is evident that the greater increases in the

TABLE I

Growth of enrollments at different levels of education in developing countries 1950-80

	Numbers enrolled (millions)			
	Educational level			
Year	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
1950	64.7	7.5	0.9	73.1
1950-60 Inc.p.a. %	+8.8	+9.1	+8.8	
1960	122.0	21.8	2.6	146.4
1960-65 Inc.p.a. %	+6.4	+10.6	+11.9	
1965	160.0	36.5	3.5	200.0
1965-70 Inc.p.a. %	+4.3	+6.7	+10.4	
1970	204.3	51.0	7.0	262.3
1970-75 Inc.p.a. %	+3.6	+6.7	+10.4	
1975	236.4	69.0	9.5	314.9
1975-80 Inc.p.a. %	+3.4	+6.0	+7.2	
1980	292.0	96.6	16.8	405.4
1950-80 Total % Inc.	+451	+1288	+1876	

Source: World Bank (1980a), United Nations (1979a), UNESO (1983).

From: M. Hardiman and J. Midgley. (1989) *The Social Dimensions of Development: Social Policy and Planning in the Third World*. Gower. p.183.

earlier years reflect the number of older students enrolling in primary education for the first time, when the United Nations made universal primary education the goal of its development activities. According to Hardiman and Midgley (1989) this goal of universal primary education, which was supposed to have been achieved by 1980, seems to have been abandoned, since the proportion of six to eleven year old children out of school has increased from 44 per cent to 48 per cent from 1975 to 1985. It is reported that "with present trends in enrollment and drop-out rates in primary schools, the children - especially girls - of the poorest 15-20 per cent families in the South are not likely to become literate" (Challenge to the South, 1990, p. 100).

Although, female enrollment in primary education has increased over the years for all income groups, it is still lower among the poorest countries (see Table II). Female enrollment in these poorer countries is not encouraged for religious and social reasons. For instance, the female role in these cultures is mainly limited to domestic work. Another indicator of concern is rural versus urban enrollment. Urban enrollment is usually higher in all developing countries than rural enrollment. This is partly because of tradition which has been passed down from grandparents to parents and onto their offspring. Parents often prefer to keep their children in their traditional setting. Whereby educating the child in a different or even the same environment would imply modernity and loss of traditional values. They realize, however, that without education, there will be "continuing domination by others,

TABLE II

Education indicators by income group of countries

Developing countries excluding capital surplus oil exporters		Adjusted enrollment ratios Primary	Secondary	Female enrollment ratios (Primary)	Adult literacy
Low income	1960	37.4	4.8	34.6	24.4
	1970	48.4	10.3	39.0	32.4
	1980	59.0	13.9	43.3	33.8
Lower middle income	1960	60.7	4.8	45.6	41.0
	1970	74.0	12.7	75.0	60.0
	1980	92.7	22.6	77.5	63.0
Intermed. middle income	1960	77.8	14.5	65.8	49.8
	1970	95.3	26.7	87.8	57.8
	1980	99.9	29.4	87.6	62.3
Upper middle income	1960	94.6	22.7	89.7	51.4
	1970	97.9	36.6	87.9	67.8
	1980	95.7	46.7	86.1	66.1
High income	1960	104.4	18.1	100.2	81.8
	1970	120.1	40.1	100.0	86.2
	1980	107.6	46.2	102.0	87.2
Capital surplus oil exporters	1960	18.2	3.1	3.5	25.2
	1970	47.1	12.4	31.6	17.1
	1980	145.0	47.0	40.4	n/a
Industr-ialized countries	1960	106.7	59.5	111.4	98.0
	1970	104.3	79.1	104.6	99.0
	1980	103.3	79.8	104.0	99.0

Source: Extracted from statistical tables in: P. K. Ghosh (Ed.) (1984) *Economic Policy and Planning in Third World Development*. London: Greenwood. pp.432-434.

continuing dependence in times of hunger, war and sickness, increasing distance from those who enjoy wealth, power, and respect" (Reimer, 1971, p. 27).

Furthermore, Hardiman and Midgley (1989) substantiate this by stating:

> The facilities in rural areas tend to be worse, and fewer primary schools offer the complete number grades.... In Africa, whereas 79 per cent of the urban schools were completed, this only applied to 54 per cent of the rural school; in Asia (excluding India) the figures were 94 and 66 per cent, in India 57 and 49 per cent, and in South and Central America 88 and 34 per cent. By contrast, the figures for Europe are 98 and 99 per cent, showing a slight bias in favour of rural primary schools (p. 185).

This can be explained by a sporadic scattering of schools, poorer facilities and fewer rural schools offering all the grades.

Secondary Education

As with primary education, the period of most rapid increase in secondary school enrollment in the Third World was from 1950 to 1965, at about 10 per cent per annum, and at 7 per cent per annum from 1965 to 1975 (see Table I). Although, the level of increase is more than double that of primary school enrollment over the same period, the proportion of total enrollment at this level is much smaller than that of primary education. This still indicates that a greater number chose to continue in secondary education.

As with primary education, there is a contrast between rural and urban schooling, as well as between the sexes; only, it is a larger difference than at the primary level. Hardiman and Midgley

(1989) argue that "as the competition for secondary places intensifies, rural children are put at a disadvantage in the qualifying examinations, many of which are still set in the old colonial languages of English and French" (p. 188).

Few women attempt to finish their secondary education, they choose to take their role as a home-maker and child-bearer instead. It is common for a woman in an underdeveloped country to get married at a very young age. Rural areas have few secondary schools, and the primary occupation in these regions is agriculture. It does not take an educated person to perform menial agricultural tasks; therefore, there is a high rate of drop-outs at this level of education in the rural areas. This accounts for a portion of the difference between rural and urban secondary enrolments.

Much analysis has been directed at the information that has been taught in high school. This has been due to the application of Western models in teaching. According to Hardiman and Midgley (1989):

> The irrelevance of such schooling to the needs of developing countries has been cited as a cause of educated unemployment and the consequent frustration of school leavers. The curricula provided tend only to be suitable for the small minority who will proceed to higher education, and even for those they may be out of tune in terms of country priorities. In terms of the skills required, education can be seen as dysfunctional, its usefulness being confined to the individual's need for certification (p. 190).

According to Huq (1975), in India the educated unemployed exceeded two million in 1972, constituting about a quarter of the total unemployed (p. 16). Hardiman and Midgley (1989) further state that

the fundamental problems of which educated unemployment is one symptom can not be solved by educational planners alone. They argue that the enrollment in secondary schools has grown faster than opportunities for employment. However, "pressures for expansion of the educational system are bound to continue as long as the present values of society persist, regardless of economic development" (p. 190).

Higher Education

As Ballantine (1985) has stated, higher education includes institutions with varying sponsorship, varying student composition, and varying types of programs. It includes two-year institutions, four-year institutions, and graduate programs. Ballantine (1985) argues that from the theoretical perspective, functionalists interpreted the rapid growth of higher education as resulting from "improved opportunity structure in society and the necessity for more education to meet the needs of an increasingly technological world" (p. 413). Conflict theorists interpret the growth of higher education as "directly related to changes in needs of the capitalist economic system, structured to perpetuate the advantaged position of the elite" (p. 413).

As shown in Table I, the enrollment figures for higher education increased by ten times between 1950 and 1975, and doubled again between 1975 and 1980. Yet, the total numbers enrolled is just a fraction of secondary enrollment. Even with this rapid

expansion in higher education, developing countries do not have as many enrolled at this level as developed countries. According to Hardiman and Midgley (1989) they accounted for a quarter of the total enrollments in higher education in the world in 1970, which is not much when the distribution of the world's population is considered.

Hardiman and Midgley (1989) argue that:

> The drive to increase higher education rapidly has been linked with the process of independence. Not only has there been a new emphasis on development, there has also been the immediate need to fill posts formerly occupied by colonial officers in the administration and services .... The desire to catch up quickly with the industrialized countries led to the adoption of Western models of tertiary education, rather than the creation of new models which would have been more appropriate. One aspect of this was the extremely high cost of third-level education, which often involved the provision of boarding facilities as well as tuition (p. 190).

This adaptation of Western models of higher education by Third World countries was used as a part of the modernization process in order to compete with more technologically advanced societies. They failed to develop an alternative educational system that was more relevant and applicable to their goals and ethics. As Third World countries became politically independent, higher education played a role in their dependency to Western technology and trade.

Literacy

> The implications of a preponderantly high level of illiteracy are far-reaching and yet largely ignored. Illiteracy not only threatens the economic order of a society, it also constitutes a profound injustice. This injustice has serious consequences, such as the inability of illiterates to make decisions for themselves or to participate in the political process (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p. vii).

According to Freire (1985) it is important to understand that illiteracy is not in itself the main problem. Illiteracy has its roots in one's unfortunate economic, social, and political circumstances. One does not choose to be illiterate, it is external forces that drive a person to live in poverty and illiteracy. Illiteracy for some does not in itself mean poverty, but for others the right to read has been purposely denied. In both instances, these people were denied a choice.

Amelioration of the literacy level of a country is related to the primary school enrollment ratio and the ratio of women enrolled in education. From Table II, we can see that poorer developing countries that have low primary school enrollment and low female enrollment levels, also have a high percentage of illiterate persons in the population. Due to the population explosion in the Third World, and because of the problems of developing universal primary education, Hardiman and Midgley (1989) indicate that it is estimated that one-third of the world population, approximately 800 million people, remain illiterate; and, sixty per cent of this group are women.

Hardiman and Midgley (1989) argue that "the importance of providing basic education for all is increasingly recognized in international circles, and is a necessary component in the basic need approach. But, in practice, few resources are allocated to the non-formal sector" (p. 192). It is further stated that a competent government would give basic education high priority at the expense of the conventional formal education. It becomes evident that literacy rates are heavily influenced by the education of women and adults that have been overlooked by the education systems in their countries. Although most children are being enrolled in school, there are still some thirty to forty per cent of the population of the poorer countries of the Third World that remain illiterate. This remainder is mainly made up of adults, who can not be served by a primary school system, thereby creating large demand for adult and continuing education programs in these countries. It is reported that "high rates of illiteracy in many countries reflect not only inadequate school enrollments but also the persistence of adult illiteracy (Challenge to the South, 1990, p. 103). However, a realistic aim would be to focus on universal literacy. This has "reduced illiteracy among adults" and "parental literacy has helped to raise school enrollments" (Challenge to the South, 1990, p. 100).

Literacy effort can be examined from an urban/rural perspective. As Bennett (1977B) points out, "success in school was very dependent on literacy ability" (p. 12). Still, further schools success is dependent on the "rural expectation and motivation of

the child" (p. 12). These expectations and motivating factors themselves are somewhat tailored to the children of the middle class. As Bennett (1977B) states "the middle class child not only comes from a stimulating literary environment, but also he comes from one in which he is expected and encouraged to succeed in school" (p. 12). Since the middle class child is largely an urban phenomenon, the chances of the rural dweller achieving partial academic success are weak at best. Once literate they have the disadvantage of traditional career expectations from parents, often lack encouragement in their academic pursuits, and have the problem of adjusting to a fast-paced urban learning environment.

It is interesting to note that Third World oil producing countries have very low literacy and enrollment figures for the general public and for women (see Table II). These countries fall into a class of their own. They demonstrate high per capita GNP and low enrollment figures, which is contrary to the trend shown in the rest of the developing world. Since most of these countries are Arab, it can be deduced that their religion does not favour the schooling of women. Also, since these places are very arid and sparsely populated by nomadic tribes, providing education to non-urban areas can be difficult. However, they have made advances in the primary school enrollment figures since 1970, which is probably due to the high income the countries earned during the oil crisis of the mid-to-late 1970's (see Table II). A good proportion of these earnings was obviously invested in the primary school system.

Youngman (1990) argues that there are different kinds of

literacy related to the struggles of different groups in society. "As Freire has argued, there is no such a thing as neutral education." Youngman (1990) discusses two kinds of literacy. One kind "helps to socialize learners into an uncritical acceptance of the status quo." This type of literacy "promotes hegemony," which Freire calls literacy for "domestication." Lankshear and Lawler (1987) call this "improper" literacy. The second kind of literacy "helps learners to understand and act to change those social relation and practices which reinforce unequal patterns of power" (p. 10). This one "promotes counter-hegemony" which for Freire is "liberation." Lankshear and Lawler (1987) refer to this as "proper" literacy.

It is commonly believed that the national governments of most Third World countries are not democratically elected. Thus one may argue that the literacy activities in these countries are of an "improper" type, used for "domestication" and serve to reinforce unjust, unequal, and undemocratic societies.

Education and Population Growth

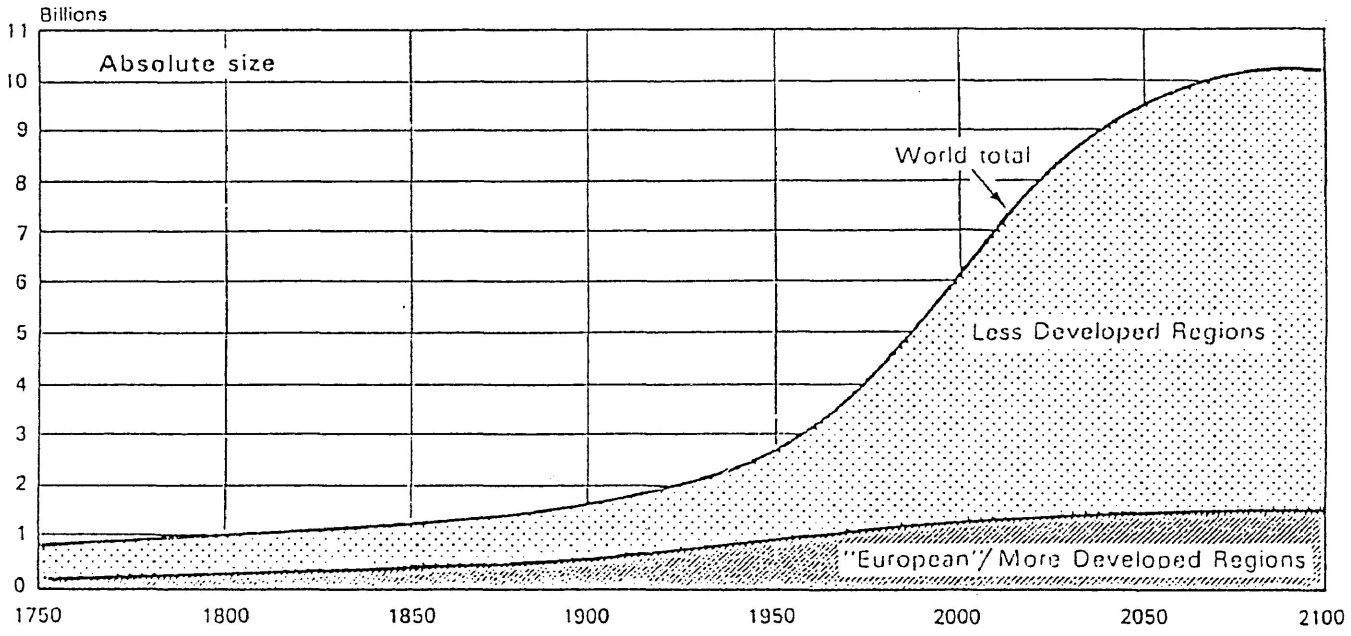
"The population explosion" as expressed by Harrison (1981) "is among the most daunting of all the problems that the developing countries face." According to Harrison (1981) the population in Third World nations will rise to nearly five billion by the year 2000. This will mean that "most Third World nations will eventually have to support populations three, four or even five times their present size" (p. 180). This would prove to be a calamity in Third World development, because many underdeveloped countries do not have the resources and capability to cope with such drastic increases in their population.

To slow population growth, many developing countries have adopted family planning programs to reduce total fertility rates. Numerous socioeconomic and cultural factors affect fertility rates, but government programs are also effective when implemented vigorously. Significant declines in fertility and population growth have been achieved by encouraging smaller and wider spacing of children in some developing countries, especially those in Asia.

Rapid growth in world population is a distinguishing characteristic of the second half of the 20th century (see Diagram I). After several hundred years of low growth rates, which were caused by deaths largely offsetting births, the rapidly declining death rates combined with continuing high birth rates in the developing world have caused a dramatically increased population

DIAGRAM I

Population Growth, 1750-2100: World, Less Developed Regions, and "European"/More Developed Regions.



Source: T.W. Merrick, et al. (1986)"World Population in Transition." In Population Bulletin 41(2):4.

growth beginning around 1950. After taking more than 100 years to double from 1.25 to 2.5 billion in 1950, the world population doubled again in only 37 years - from 2.5 to 5.0 billion people by 1987, and it is projected to reach 6.1 billion in year 2000 and 8.2 billion in year 2025 (United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1986, p. 19).

Growth rates, which rose significantly in developed countries following World War II, exceeded 2 per cent in developing countries from 1950 to 1985 (see Diagram II).

By comparison, the world population grew only about 0.8 per cent during the first half of this century and at lower rates before then. Although population growth rates fell below 1.0 per cent in the developed world by the mid-1960's, they continued to rise in developing countries until the late 1960's, peaking at over 2.5 per cent per year.

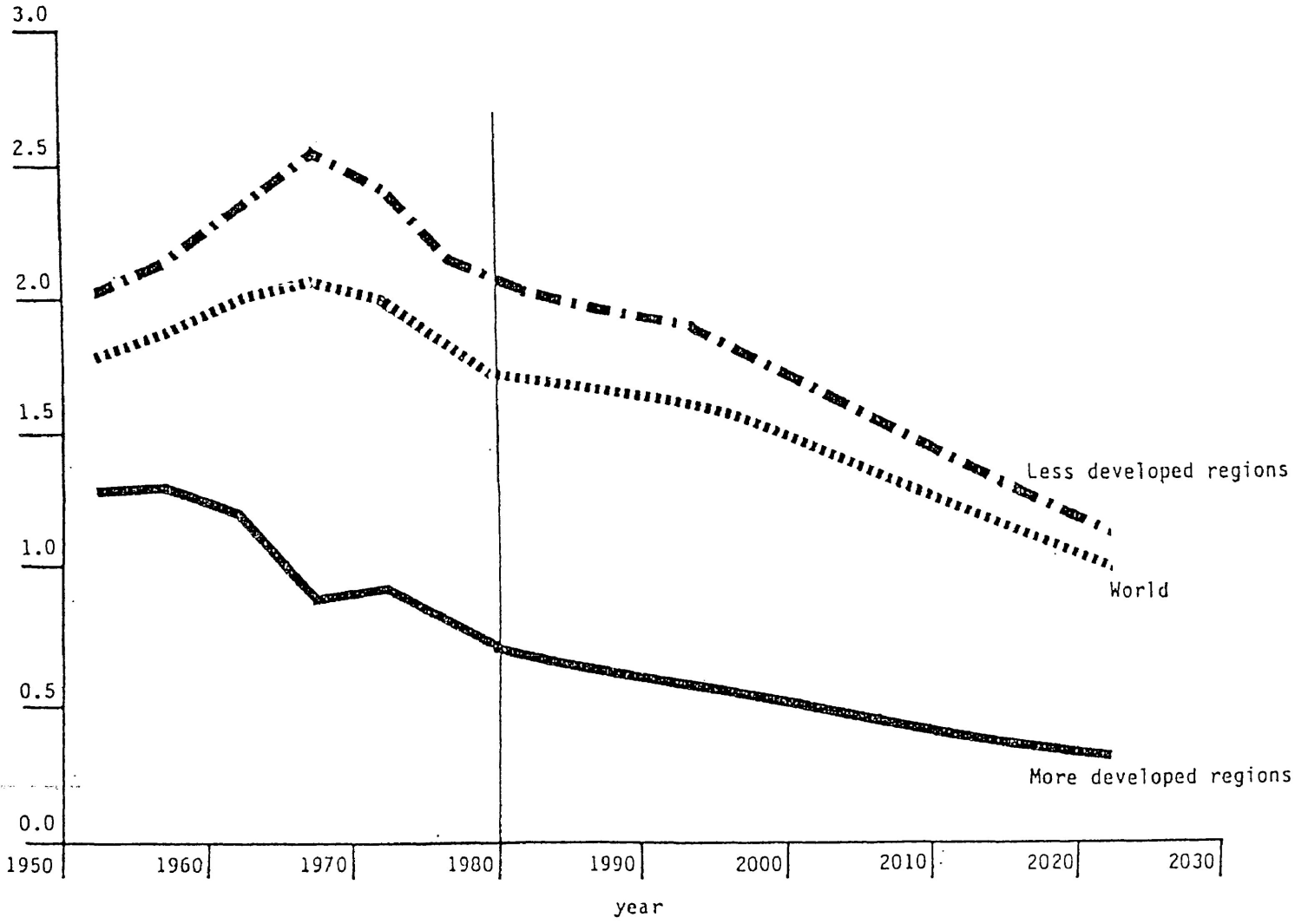
These differences have resulted in a shift in the distribution of global population toward the developing countries (see Table III).

Developed countries contained about one third of the world's population from 1900 to 1950, but less than one quarter by 1985. Between 1950 and 1985, the largest numerical increase - more than 1.4 billion - occurred in developing Asian countries. However, the fastest rates of growth were experienced in Africa and Latin America where populations grew to almost two and a half times their 1950 levels.

Population growth rate is 2.9 per cent per annum in Africa,

DIAGRAM II

Average annual rate of population growth for the world, more developed regions and less developed regions, medium variant, 1950-2025.



Source: United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs (1986). World Population Prospects: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1984. New York: United Nations, P. 25.

TABLE III

Population Trends, 1900 - 2100

millions

Region	1900	1950	1985	2000	2025	2100
Developing Regions	1,070	1,681	3,657	4,837	6,799	8,748
Africa	133	224	555	872	1,617	2,591
Asia	867	1,292	2,697	3,419	4,403	4,919
Latin America	70	165	405	546	779	1,238
Developed Regions	560	835	1,181	1,284	1,407	1,437
Europe, USSR Japan, and Oceania	478	669	617	987	1,062	1,055
Canada and the United States	82	166	264	297	345	382
World Total	1,630	2,516	4,837	6,122	8,206	10,185

Source: T.W. Merrick. (1986) "World Population in Transition." In *Population Bulletin*. 41(2): 12-13.

where it is projected to continue to exceed 3.0 per cent per year and is expected to remain at about the same level until near the end of the century. It is projected that the population growth rate will start to fall around the beginning of the twenty-first century (United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1986, p. 27). Although regional statistics often mask substantial differences among countries, population growth rates in African nations are consistently high.

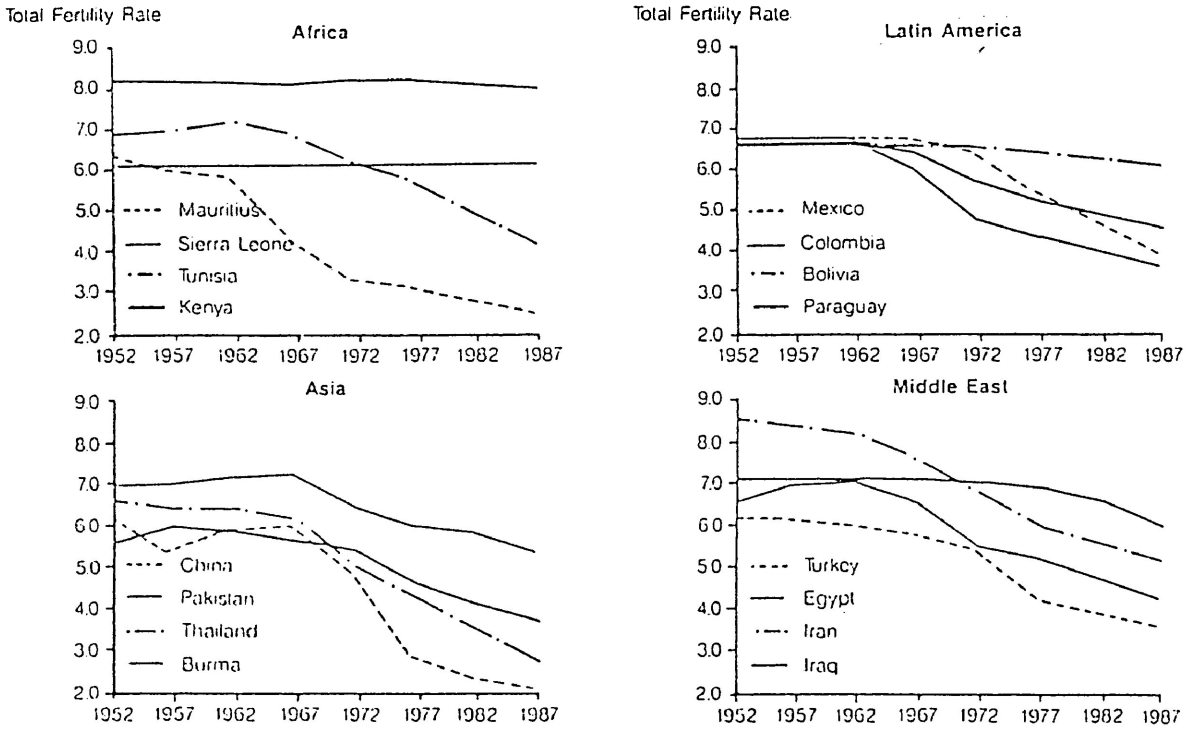
In the developing world, fertility reduction has two aspects: The first is the remarkable fall in fertility rates in numerous countries, particularly China. Declines in certain Asian and Latin American countries are also impressive. Secondly, they are matched by the absence of appreciable declines in other large countries, especially in Africa, the Middle East, and Central America. Diagram III shows trends in fertility rates for selected developing countries in all regions.

Worldwide health conditions have improved dramatically during the past 20 years. Important gains in life expectancy and infant mortality have been achieved in most developing countries. However, a large gap remains between the developed and developing worlds, with developing countries' health problems closely related to the environment, natural resources, and development. Primary concerns are the lack of food, clean water, and adequate health care.

Rapid growth in the Third World can be controlled through primary education and birth control awareness. Most developing

DIAGRAM III

Trends in Total Fertility Rates for Selected Developing Countries, 1952-87



Source: United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs (1986) World Population Prospects: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1984. New York: United Nations.

countries have programs for universal primary education which as Harrison (1981) points out "can prove an excellent vehicle for economic change - particularly if the courses are imaginatively designed" (p. 179). The courses should be designed with the specific features of the culture in mind to meet their specific needs. For example, cooperative activity could be part of the program so that students can share ideas and experiences and learn from each other. Educating does not only mean teaching basic education for reading and writing, it should consist of new job skills and training as well as better nutrition, new approaches to health care, and a form of self-help economics, which would teach underdeveloped countries to become self-reliant.

Female Education and Population Growth

There is a general hypothesis that better education in a population translates to a lower birth rate. Is the birth rate related to the level of education in a country, or is a slowing population growth increasing per capita levels of schooling? When studying birth rates and education, demographers and economists have focused most of their attention on female education. In one study, the percentage of women in the primary age group which attended school in 1960, was compared with the crude birth rates of 1981. The study found that there was indeed a correlation between a more educated female population and a reduction in the birth rate (Simpson, 1989, p. 50).

Reasons for female education to be related to fertility are numerous. Following is a brief summary of direct benefits from education. Education of women beyond primary levels can postpone marriage, and could delay childbearing. Education involves the exchange of knowledge about health, hygiene, and child care; therefore parents who have benefited from this will provide better care for their children, and hence reduce child mortality. Education often involves family planning and the use of contraceptives, especially at secondary levels, therefore allowing parents to better plan for children. It is reported that "Educated girls tend to marry later and understand family planning better. Their social status is raised and they tend to respond more effectively to their children's health needs, leading to lower rates of infant mortality" (Globe and Mail, 1994, p. A7).[10]

There are of course many indirect effects of education on fertility. Education increases economic mobility, which opens up employment possibilities and provides alternatives to early motherhood. Also, educational attainment is directly related to the wage a woman could demand, therefore she may find that childbearing is too costly compared to the earnings she could make; in essence, it becomes a question of marginal returns of childbearing compared to the marginal costs of sacrificing potential earnings. And finally, educated women know the value of education, therefore they will sacrifice having additional children in order to educate existing children in their family.

It becomes clear that post-secondary education provides women

with alternatives to childbearing; but does this apply to secondary education as well? There is evidence to suggest otherwise, and most of this comes from the Third World. Hess (1988) argues that with just a modest amount of schooling, fertility actually rises. For instance educated women tend to breast-feed less, which "cuts down on the protection afforded by lactational amenorrhea;" or, "by promoting better health," educated women may prolong "fecundity" (p. 20).

Although some proof exists to attest these facts, female education in general reduces fertility. This has been shown by the World Fertility Survey (1985).[11] Its findings demonstrate that post-secondary education inevitably reduces fertility, and that secondary education does so by delaying marriage and introducing contraceptive use (Gille, 1985, p. 278). The education of women is therefore negatively correlated to population growth, while male education can be considered as having a positive correlation to the growth of population. The rationale is that men have more disposable income to rear children, and conversely that male education could be negatively correlated to the population growth since men desire to avoid the high cost of child rearing, rather choosing to maintain a higher standard of living. While female education creates a substitution effect between a career and childbearing, male education reflects the income effect. There is a relationship between schooling, income, and consumption - the more schooling, the higher the income; the larger the family, the lower the level of disposable income. An alternative view could be

the higher the education, the greater the income and therefore there is an increase in disposable income and a desire to maintain their higher economic status by having smaller families. Yet, this is difficult to observe in society, because according to Hess (1988) individuals tend to pair off according to educational attainment. "If so, then the education of the husband would be highly correlated with that of the wife, making it more difficult to distinguish between the effects of parental education on fertility" (p. 20).

Costs of Third World Education

The population explosion in developing countries leads to an equally explosive demand on education. It would be difficult to discuss education and development without discussing the costs of providing primary, secondary, and higher education. There are two ways of looking at educational expenses in the Third World: as a proportion of Gross National Product (GNP), and as a proportion of the National Budget.

The proportion of GNP spent on education has increased globally (see Table IV), with a greater growth in the percentage of GNP being spent on education in developing countries (78%) than in developed countries (60%).[12] However, the developed world still spends more on education, than the developing world. In the same period government expenditures as a percentage of the national budget have also risen in the developed countries.

TABLE IV

Public expenditure on education as a percentage of gross national product (GNP) and of national budget, 1960-1977

	% of GNP		% of National Budget	
	Developed Countries	Developing Countries	Developed Countries	Developing Countries
1960	4.0	2.3	11.3	11.7
1965	5.2	3.0	15.2	13.1
1970	5.7	3.4	16.1	13.8
1974	5.7	3.9	15.6	15.1
1977	6.4	4.1	21.3	16.3

Source: E. Schiefelbein. (1983) *Educational Financing in Developing Countries: Research Findings and Contemporary Issues*.International Development Research Centre, p. 5.

The increases in costs of education in developing countries differ from those in developed countries. Industrialized nations, with declining birth rates and enrollment figures can actually improve the quality of education available to their population. This is not the case for developing countries where the yearly increase in population demands that more money be spent on education. This occurs because the GNP does not grow as fast as the population. In fact, per pupil expenses in developing countries are diminishing, yet total expenses are rising. Larger classes and smaller salaries for teachers indicate that the quality of the education received is also diminishing. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that from "thirty to fifty per cent of the additional government education expenditures 'required' over the next decade in a typical developing country is attributable to the projected growth of the school-aged population" (Working Group on population Growth and Economic Development, 1986, p. 58).

Developing countries are looking for the private funding of education to alleviate the burden being put on their economies by this problem. This in turn could lead to even more difficulties for the poorest of the poor. If private education were to prevail, this group could not have access to basic education, and the countries would be back where they started thirty years ago. The focus then shifts away from primary education, which should be free and universal. And, since secondary and higher education enrollments are much lower than primary enrollments (see Tables I and II), the governments of developing countries should consider secondary and

higher education as their main concern.

As can be seen from Table V, developing countries are spending just as much on secondary and higher education as they do on primary education. Yet, enrollment figures are nowhere near as high for these two levels as they are for primary education. If developing countries have the interest for private investment in education, it should be in secondary and post- secondary education. After all, any public investment in education above the secondary level is subject to diminishing returns to the country itself, especially if this education results in underemployment, educated unemployment or "brain drain." This kind of policy would result in an inequitable distribution of higher education that would favour the rich. But, these effects can be alleviated by providing funding, bursaries, and scholarships to the poor.

TABLE V

Percentage distribution of expenditures for education by level of education

Countries grouped by GNP per capita	Number of countries	Primary education (average)	Secondary education (average)	Higher education (average)
Low (less than $265)	23	55.5	29.1	15.4
Lower-middle ($266-520)	16	39.3	38.0	22.7
Intermediate-middle ($521-1075)	19	39.9	23.0	37.1
Upper-middle ($1076-2500)	7	39.9	27.1	32.9
Total (all dev'g countries)	65	41.1	27.0	31.8
OECD countries	17	33.3	34.9	31.8

Source: Extracted from statistical data in: E. Schiefelbein (1983) *Educational Financing in Developing Countries: Research Findings and Contemporary Issues*. International Development Research Centre, p.10.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION AND DEMOGRAPHY WITH FOCUS ON INDIA

Structure of the Indian Educational System

The establishment of the Indian educational system is a consequence of the period of British colonial rule. The educational system was designed to produce an educated elite that would form the core of an autonomous national administration. India's educational system is divided into a sequential hierarchy: primary, secondary, and higher levels. Duration of primary and secondary education is approximately 5 to 6 years, while the length for completion of a university undergraduate degree is 3 to 4 years (Europa World Year Book, 1992; Robinson, 1989; Laska, 1968; Sargent, 1968; Mukherjee, 1967).

Caste System in India

In order to understand the educational system in India, one needs to examine the social implications of the caste system.

India has been a country with a massive immigration and several races, differing in culture and religion. People in India have come from many different regions at various times with wide variety of skills. They merged and created a socially stable society. Those with higher skill became the higher caste.

India's caste system (a feature of Hindu society) is founded on the *Brahmans* principles of the intellectual and moral superiority. An institution found specifically in India, this system dominates their social life dictating manners, morals, and thought (Pandey, 1967; Thapar, 1966; Smith, 1919).

The ancient Hindu writers classified mankind into four categories:

(1) *Brahmans* (the highest caste of all): the educated, liberated, and religious.

(2) *Kshatriyas*: the warriors and the governing classes.

(3) *Vaisyas*: the peasants and merchants.

(4) *Shudras*: the common people who served their superiors.

The first three castes were arranged on various professions. The fourth caste, however, was based both on race as well as occupation (Wolpert, 1977; Rawlinson, 1968; Pandey, 1967; Thapar, 1966; Smith, 1919).

The caste system gave stability to Indian society by dividing the people and therefore their profession according to their social status. It preserved family life. Members of the same caste came together and helped one another.

Education in ancient India was mainly religion-oriented before the arrival of the British. It was not available to everyone, particularly to the untouchables (the lower caste, i.e. Shudra). People of the lower caste did not have the opportunity for education because of their socio-economic status. Educational opportunity varied with status in the community. The British educational system was hierarchial in nature, as was the caste system. Therefore, it could be argued that the British educational system was not a reinforcer of the caste system.

Primary Education in India

Table VI below demonstrates the increase in primary institutions as well as the increase in students over a 30 year period since the 1950's. It is shown that the number of institutions have increased by 463,347 and the number of primary level students by 73,148,947.

TABLE VI

Primary Level Schools and Enrollment

Country	Institutions	Students
India		
1953-1954	40,397	3,889,975
1983	503,741	77,038,922

Source: F. Robinson (ed.) (1989) *Cambridge Encyclopedia of India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.382.

Universal primary education is the goal of all countries but in India this has not been a success, particularly in the North rather than the South. This failure has been as a result of a rapid growth in population which exceeds the growth in enrollment. The major concerns with regard to the spread of primary education are: "the disparity between urban and rural areas, and female

education." In addition it is reported that "India has still to bring more than fifty million children into schools of whom two-thirds are girls" (Robinson, 1989, p. 382).

Another concern that affects universal primary education is the large drop-out rate among children. The drop-out rate is greater in rural than in urban areas and among girls than among boys. This is as a result of "low priority given to education by parents, the employment of children at home and outside, and the irrelevance of the school curriculum, and general poverty" (Robinson, 1989, p. 382). Furthermore, failure rates and low attendance which are causes of "grade repetition" are continually concerns of the school system.

It is intriguing to note that while policies have been implemented to increase the number of primary schools, their quality remains the same without improvement. Evidently, a great majority of primary schools, especially those in rural areas "lack proper buildings, classrooms, and basic equipment such as furniture and blackboards" (Robinson, 1989, p. 382). Furthermore, "absenteeism" and lack of proper teacher training, increase the problem in primary schools.

Di Bona (1977) states that in India all the opportunities and privileges available for the people of high social and financial status are denied to the "uneducated, the illiterate and the culturally backward" (p. 613). According to him facilities for teaching are not up to standard at the local level. "Village schools themselves are often lacking in appeal or even the minimal

amenities conducive to health and learning. Barely 10 per cent of these schools have sanitation facilities, which is another way of saying girls are not encouraged to attend" (p. 614). Poor facilities and lack of planning which extend even to basic sanitation creates an undesirable atmosphere. This leads to lower incentive to teach and high "turnover." This atmosphere is not conducive to learning.

Di Bona (1977) makes a comparison between primary and higher education. He states that the rural population is serviced by primary education, whereas colleges and universities are primarily directed toward the "urban educated modernized elite." Further, primary education is supported by the state government but not to the same extent as higher education. It becomes apparent that there is a widening of the gap or separation between the two segments of the educational structure. As the population increases, it becomes even more difficult, especially for a village child, to gain admission to a university. "The result is that while the exploitation of the countryside by the city continues, the possibility of rural youth entering the urban elite is more and more remote." Moreover, Di Bona (1977) argues that the official explanation for educational disparities given through "inadequate resources" nationwide, is hardly supported by the predominance of "affluent schools catering to the rich, well-heeled, ... prosperous, and healthy students." This contrast with the "average village school" which "has neither bathroom, water, books, nor trained teachers" (p. 611).

The dominant tenets of British imperialism led to the creation of an urban elite and rural poor model. This urban and rural model is quite similar to Bennett (1977B) criticism of the effects of economic development and its contribution to education. Bennett argues that elitism is carried largely through the middle class and he contrasts this with the neglect of the rural citizens. This structure led to the creation and dominance of the urban elite.

> The colonial and feudalistic society had no respect for manual labor, whereas it was treated as something fit for the lowliest of the lowly. It had also not enough respect for Indian languages and culture. These attitudes to a larger extent are still reflected in our curriculum and therefore in the syllabus as well (Ministry of Education and Youth Services, 1969, p. 24).

The people of India as a whole did not accept the colonial explanation of an urban elite and rural poor model of education. But they have chosen to explain that the differences exist due to regional, religious or linguistic demands.

Secondary Education in India

In India, prior to the independence during British colonial rule, students at the secondary level were required to learn English before they could continue their education. "In a very real sense secondary schools constituted the basis of the English education pyramid which was crowned by the universities" (McCully, 1966, p. 161).

The main purpose for the introduction of English education at secondary level was to train the clerks and other lower level

functionaries required by the colonial administration. When English was made the official language, no local person could join the public service or hold office under the colonial government unless he or she acquired some knowledge of English.

According to McCully (1966) measurement of the number of students receiving English education in the Census of 1881 was "1 to every 3,300.8" at the secondary school level and "1 to every 22,055.5" in Arts or professional colleges of a total population of 198.5 million (p. 166). The fact that very few received English training shows the dominance of a policy that allows English as the official language. This leads to little capacity for advancement of the native of India and dominance by the few that received English training.

Table VII below shows the expansion of secondary schools in a 30 year period. The institutions as well as student enrollment have increased dramatically. The main purpose of secondary education in India has always been to prepare students for further education. This is considered one of the drawbacks of the educational system in India, as it fails "to diversify and vocationalize education at the secondary level" (Robinson, 1989, p. 383).

TABLE VII

Secondary Level Schools and Enrollment

Country	Institutions	Students enrolled
India		
1953-1954	27,558	6,544,209
1983-1985	188,713	39,873,184

Source: F. Robinson (ed.) (1989) *Cambridge Encyclopedia of India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 383.

The genesis of the contemporary educational system in India dates to the beginning of the 19th century at the time of British rule. There has been a marked growth in the number of private schools. The consequences of this has been the emergence of a bifurcated system with a small number of superlative institutions with an elitist class of students and "of inferior, ill-equipped schools which employ untrained teachers often without regular salaries" (Robinson, 1989, p. 384).

Higher education in India

The British colonial authority planned the modernization of its colonies by providing institutions of higher education in advance of independence.

"Most" universities in India are a product of British colonial policy (Altbach, 1971). Traditionally, higher education in India focused on "religious themes." However, this kind of education "either collapsed or receded into the background as British rule established itself ... in the eighteenth century" (Altbach, 1977, p. 318). Between 1857 and 1946-47, the year prior to independence, India had 18 universities, 933 colleges, and 225,000 students (Altbach, 1971, p. 319). This indicates a substantial growth in higher education. However, according to Ashby (1966), there were some flaws in the system. "From 1854 to 1919 the British rulers of India deliberately maintained powers of governmental control over universities which no British university would have tolerated" (p. 141). Students were required to study subjects that were of no value to them nor to their communities or cultural standards. Ashby (1966) writes: "Students were required to study subjects that were culturally alien to them in a language that was not their own" (p. 142). McCully (1966) states "Everywhere, European literature and science ... formed the core of the college and high school curriculum" (p. 167). English was a compulsory subject on all the courses at Calcutta University. McCully (1966) further explains

that English was the medium through which all the examinations were conducted. Calcutta University devoted its main attention to "English literature and European science" (p. 167).

English style education was demanded by Indians according to Altbach (1971) because "it provided prestigious jobs in the British bureaucracy or in the growing commercial sector of the economy." The emphasis on higher education was not for the "development of national consciousness." Contrary to the British interests higher education in India led to the "intellectual uplift of the people" (p. 319). The content of what the students were taught enhanced the nationalist movement and ultimately the achievement of independence. It could be argued that another positive aspect of British rule in India was the introduction and reinforcement of the English language through which educated upper class Indians could communicate. This legacy of colonial rule has continued to the present. This particular class of Indian has been able to understand the English language, and have access to the world's scientific knowledge and information.

The introduction of the British model of universities contributed to the presence of underdevelopment in India. Rather than establishing new institutions geared to the needs and culture of Indian people, British authorities simply adopted the model common in Britain. "Neither the institution we introduced, nor the environment in which it developed, were conducive to the creation of an academic community. The model exported to India reflected the state of British universities in the mid-nineteenth century"

(Ashby, 1966, p. 141).

The British educational system at the post-secondary level was inadequate and unsuitable to meet the needs of an underdeveloped nation such as India (Wolpert, 1965). However, although it was a very good institution for training British civil servants, it was not appropriate for Indian society. Consequently, even today "many college graduates remain unemployed mostly because they have been superficially trained as nineteenth-century English gentlemen" (Wolpert, 1965, p. 23).

The content of secondary education during the British rule had an influence on post-secondary studies.

> The university was a preserve of the upper classes and castes and was basically limited to the urban areas; while about 80 per cent of India's population is now rural, the proportion was even higher prior to independence. Thus, most Indians were completely cut off from the universities. A university degree became a means for social mobility, but this mobility was largely limited to the urban upper castes and classes (Altbach, 1971, p. 320).

The British period also established the location of universities and colleges in the cities. "Even within cities, the colleges were generally located in upper-class areas, and the whole subculture of higher education reflected this Western upper-caste bias" (Altbach, 1971, p. 321). Although it is slowly changing, universities and colleges are still mostly accessible to the upper-class in the cities.

UNESCO data show that in 1953-54 students enrollment at tertiary level in India was 547,601 while in 1984 it has increased to 852,104 (Robinson, 1989, p. 385). This increased enrollment in a 30 year period has not been related to the manpower needs and its

growth has been detrimental to the three main educational sectors; primary, secondary and technical. In India educational performance is poor when being evaluated in terms of quality and output (Robinson, 1989; Wolpert, 1965). This poor performance has led to high drop-out and failure rates. "About 50 per cent of students who enroll fail to sit for their degrees. In some universities in the region, the percentage is as high as 75-80 per cent" (Robinson, 1989, p. 385).

Dealing with the rising student population while balancing quantity with quality is a major problem in post secondary educational institutions. For employment of university graduates to be feasible, education must become more practical in its role in national development and the quality of textbooks and curriculum need to be closely reviewed.

Literacy in India

In India, 60 per cent of the total population can not read and write and "West Bengal is focusing on Midnapore which has the largest number of illiterates in any district: three million out of a population of five million" (Rai, 1990, p. 19; Narang, 1992). Further, despite the growth in the number of schools, colleges, and universities, "50% of children do not enter school or drop out early, and less than five per cent eventually receive higher education" (Narang, 1992, p. 542). There are many factors that promote differences in literacy in many regions of India. Gosal (1964) indicates that if a region was urbanized, had better agricultural lands, and more contact with the Europeans, or if the missionaries had played a part in spreading literacy and education, also if the state or private organizations had a role in the region, then the degree of literacy would have been higher. Based on a survey conducted in India to identify the illiterates, 70 per cent of whom proved to be women (Simpson, 1990, p. 19). I would argue that literacy is more predominate among women residing in the South than women residing in the North.

According to Narang (1992) several efforts at eradicating illiteracy have been made in India since 1947. These efforts included: Social Education, campaigns to make whole villages literate, the National Adult Education Programme and the National Literacy Mission. However, Narang (1992) states that "these have

resulted in only a marginal rise in the percentage of literates" (p. 542). The difficulty facing the literacy campaign in India according to Rai (1990) is "recruiting teachers, especially in villages. Women are often reluctant to take part in classes and many want to be taught by women" (p. 19)[13]. One should note that the literacy rate in Kerala state is remarkably higher than the rest of India. According to Franke and Chasin (1991) adult literacy rate in Kerala state, in 1981, was 78 per cent, as compared to 43 per cent in all of India as late as 1986.

The regional differences between the urban and rural communities in India are institutionalized under the guise of educational policy. Government policies, specifically different types of reforms, such as "non-formal education," are used to "justify differential and inferior treatment of marginal [rural] populations" (Arnove, 1980, p. 53). Specifically, as a result of non-formal education basic educational requirement such as buildings and accredited teachers fundamental to the urban elite are overlooked in favour of an informal "grass-roots" education at the level of the rural village. This practice of a relaxed and informal education is both cost-effective for the government and practical for the urban elite as the educational system does not seem to lead to "entry into the more prestigious, lucrative, and powerful positions in the modern sector of Indian society" (Arnove, 1980, p. 53).

The argument above is supported by Di Bona's (1977) use of dependency theory. Arnove (1980) quotes Di Bona as saying that "the

blatant institutionalization of cultural domination by the urban elite over the rural population" is as a result of a "direct vestige of British rule ... now adapted to Indian demands" (p. 53).

Female Education in India

There are certain codes in India and one of them is the respect for women. Women are treated with sympathy and not with contempt. Women are shown more respect in India than are women in Western societies. This respect takes certain forms such as paternalistic attitudes and use of the *parda* (veil) system (Singh, 1985; Vreede-De Stuers, 1968; Altekar, 1962; Mayo, 1927). Personal integrity is very important among women in India and the value system is strongly preserved. In India, the law does not differentiate between the races, but women are still disadvantaged because they can not take advantage of the law for various reasons such as socio-economic status, their multi-religious cultures and their own values and traditions. "The backwardness among females is directly related to their literacy status. As it is the direct function of the state of socio-economic development" (Singh, 1985, p. 61).

Singh (1985) attributes the low literacy rates among females in India to historical, economic, cultural, and political factors. He claims that the state education was implemented during the British rule. Singh quotes Gosal (1964) as saying that education

was only for the privileged "as it was a functional necessity to them." These functions were confined to male only according to Singh and thus "the necessity of female education remained off" (p. 62). For Dikshit (1966) the best possible method to ameliorate the condition of women in India is through education. Throughout history the males have been supported and given the privilege of education. Dikshit believes that the females should be given the same opportunities. He states that "women ... have great potentialities, and, if educated, can became the most precious assets of the country" (p. 112).

Table VIII demonstrates that in India during 1990, 50.4% of women and 71.0% of men were able to obtain an education, 49.6% and 29.0% respectively were not. This is illustrated by a comparison with other countries such as France and Chad. This table also indicates that the average years of schooling for girls in India is 1.2 and for every 100 boys, there are only 71 girls who attend primary school. It is interesting to note how parents approach their children's education; there are parents who send (1) both boys and girls, (2) others who send only boys, and (3) others who send neither boys nor girls. India's total fertility rate in 1990 (the year Population Action International collected its data) is 4.0 per woman.

Diagram IV indicates a strong connection between percentage of women in a given country that are educated and the number of educated males compared to educated females. The higher the female education, the higher the number of female students. There are

always more educated males than educated females. The discrepancy between the educated males and females is substantially greater in most Third World countries such as India.

Diagram V illustrates an inverse relationship in the ratio between average years of schooling for females and total fertility rate. The less education women have, the more children they have. At the same time, women with more education have fewer children.

It is evident from this comparison that nearly half of Indian women remain uneducated. This is due to extreme poverty particularly in rural areas, superstitions, cultural and political traditions and the value system. The socialization of women as domestics is another contributing factor to the low percentage of uneducated Indian women.

TABLE VIII

FEMALE EDUCATION

Rankings of educational opportunities for females from selected countries.

	Female education Index	Average years of schooling (Female)	Number of female students per 100 males	Total fertility rate
France	99.7	11.7	94	1.8
Canada	99.4	11.9	93	1.7
United States	97.7	12.4	95	1.9
Cuba	90.8	7.7	91	1.9
Former USSR	90.0	7.2	97	2.3
South Korea	86.2	6.7	94	1.8
Sri Lanka	86.2	6.1	93	1.5
Hong Kong	82.6	5.4	92	1.5
Singapore	78.4	3.1	90	1.9
China	67.0	3.6	86	2.5
India	**50.4**	**1.2**	**71**	**4.0**
Nigeria	47.0	0.5	76	6.0
Ethiopia	35.8	0.7	64	7.5
Pakistan	27.6	0.7	52	5.8
Chad	21.0	0.1	44	6.0

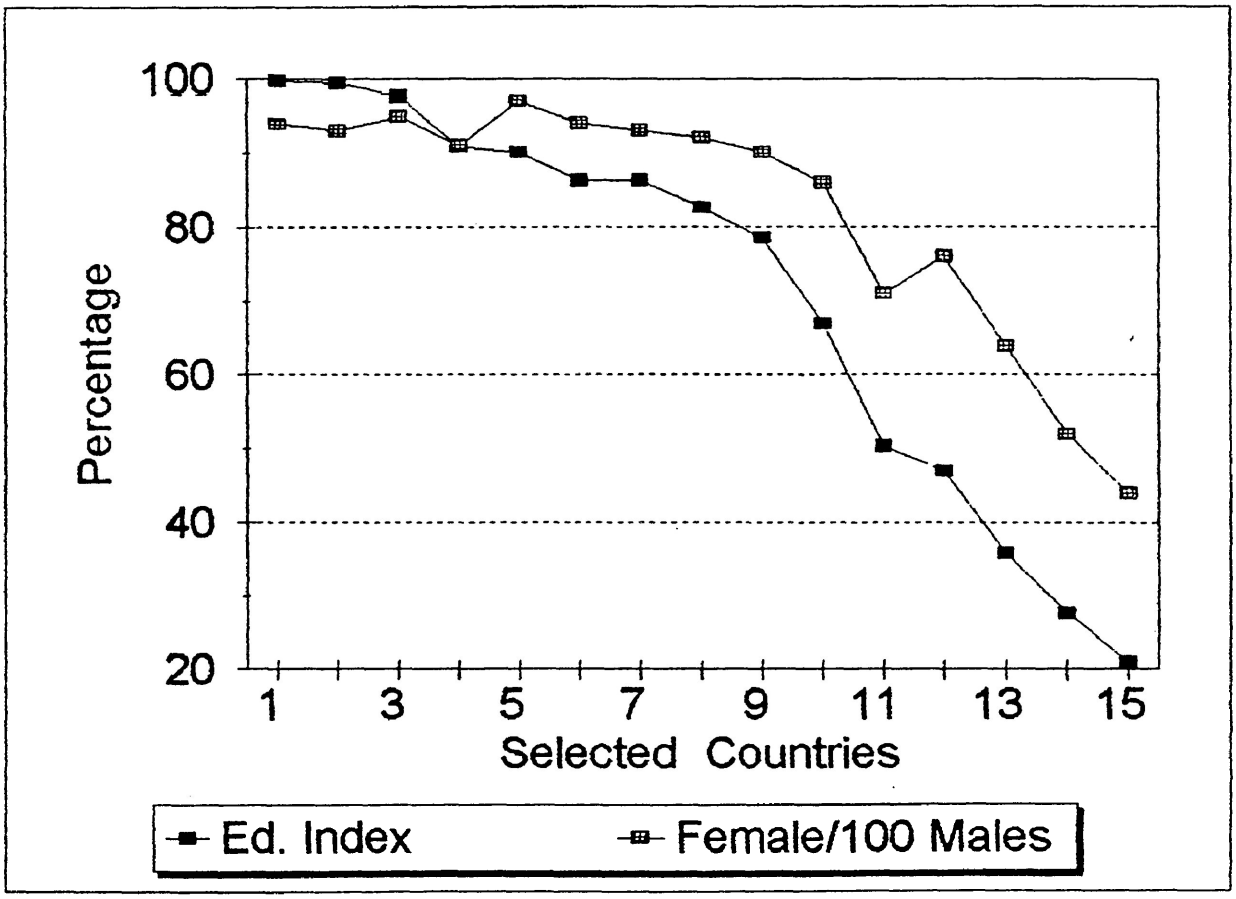
Source: Population Action International

From: *Globe and Mail*, January 31, 1994, p. A7.

DIAGRAM IV

Female Education

The relationship between educated female and the number of female students par 100 males

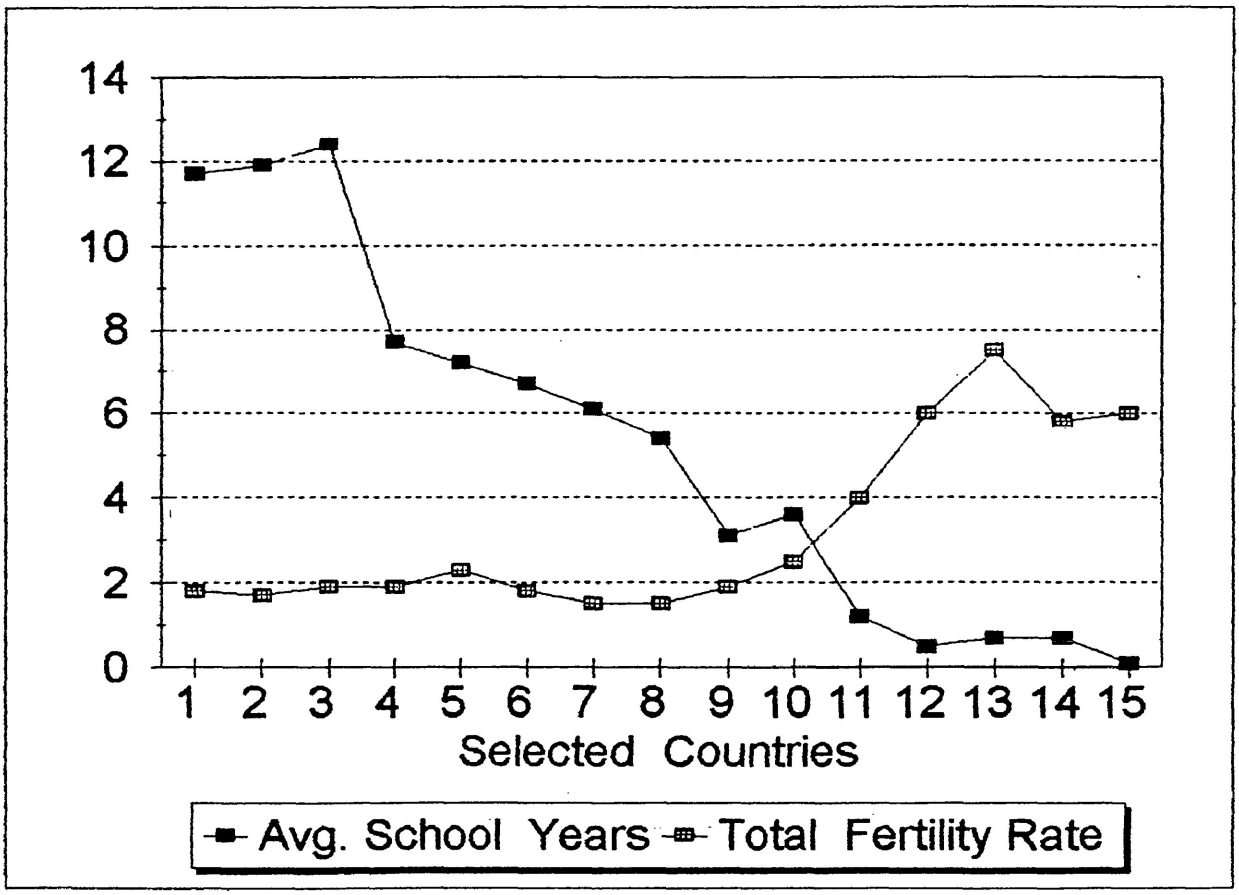


1. France 2. Canada 3. United States 4. Cuba
5. Former USSR 6. S. Korea 7. Sri Lanka 8. Hong Kong
9. Singapore 10. China 11. India 12. Nigeria 13. Ethiopia
14. Pakistan 15. Chad

DIAGRAM V

Female Education

The relationship between average years of schooling and total fertility rate



1. France 2. Canada 3. United States 4. Cuba
5. Former USSR 6. S. Korea 7. Sri Lanka 8. Hong Kong
9. Singapore 10. China 11. India 12. Nigeria 13. Ethiopia
14. Pakistan 15. Chad

Costs of Education in India

The criteria for the viability of education in India hinges on two factors; the availability of funds and the supply of teachers. Table IX shows the financial expenses on education in the standardized currency. Several points of interests can be noted, chiefly the differences in educational expenses among the primary, secondary, higher, and adult education expenditures.

Since India gained independence in 1947, Table IX shows that the expenditure on adult education changed little between 1937-8 and 1946-7. Expenditure on primary, secondary, and higher education has increased while expenditure on adult education has remained relatively constant. "Adult education has remained on the periphery of educational systems. It has been badly organized and poorly financed" (Khan, 1988, p. 7). The value in education exist mainly in the context of preparation for adult life, consequently most of the financing and organization is placed in the primary area rather than on adult education.

Table X indicates that in 1981 India spent three per cent of its Gross National Product on education. This is comparable to only one per cent in 1946-47 (Knowles, 1977; Altbach, 1971). Even this is considered low compared to developed nations. However, India spends some 32 per cent of its educational expenditure on higher education which is significantly higher than that of industrialized nations (Altbach, 1971, p. 334). The relative cost to students is

TABLE IX

Expenditure on Education Between 1937 and 1947 in India

Branch	Rupees in Millions 1937-8	Rupees in Millions 1946-7
Pre-primary	n.a	n.a.
Primary (classes I-V)	83.2	184.9
Middle (classes VI-VIII)	25.7	48.0
High schools	56.3	122.3
Universities	27.6	45.7
Adult	0.2	01.1
Technical and vocational	24.6	51.6

Source: J. Sargent (1968) *Society, Schools and progress in India.* Oxford: Pergamon Press, p. 219.

TABLE X

Public Expenditure on Education (1981)

Country	Total (USA $)	% of GNP	% of total government expenditure	% of Expenditure Primary	Secondary	Higher
Bangladesh	3,348,107	1.7	8.6	44.2	29.4	23.4
India	44,102,100	3.0	9.6	36.9	24.2	13.5
Pakistan	5,601,957	1.9	5.1	38.9	32.6	19.7
Sri Lanka	2,485,499	3.0	8.7	86.1		8.7

Source: UNESCO Book of Educational Statistics, cited in F. Robinson (ed.) (1989) *Cambridge Encyclopedia of India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 387.

proportionally low when compared to developed countries.

In India financing of adult education is overlooked with the emphasis being put on primary, secondary, and higher education. The resources allocated for higher education are strained at best.

> The low per student expenditure and the general scarcity of resources for higher education in India means that facilities are often minimal and that funds for libraries, new classrooms, and such amenities as common rooms or offices for professors are scarce and that many - perhaps most - colleges do without some facilities considered standard in most countries (Altbach, 1971, p. 334).

Educational financing is a major problem in India as in other developing countries, with the financing of education that exist being allocated largely to primary, secondary, and higher education with little left over for adult education. This structure of financing tends to service the urban areas in a more complete manner. This structure of financing parallels the outlook of the urban/rural mentality, which is largely an outworking of colonialism. The financing structure reinforces the stereotype of elite and non-elite which is strikingly similar to the caste and non-caste system predominant in pre-colonial India.

Due to the low percentage of Gross National Product devoted to education, the following consequences have been recurring: lack of spending on education perpetuates the educational and the caste system which have been in place since colonialism. Education remains for the elite and as a result a huge number of uneducated workers are not able to compete in a technologically advanced world. Literacy remains low particularly for adults and women, specifically women in the Northern part of India. As a result,

consequences such as lower health care, and lower standard of living occur which in turn leads to poverty.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

There are very few studies that have examined the consequences of the British model of education and educational underdevelopment in colonized Third World and, in particular, India.

Consequences of the British Model of Education on the Colonies

Griffin (1973) states that "some of the people with whom the Europeans (including English) came into contact were ... relatively primitive" (p. 74). India did not fit this typical "primitive" mold with respect to its unique indigenous system of education. However, Griffin (1973) claims that most of the people the European encountered "were members of viable societies which could satisfy the economic needs of the community." As a result of this contact these societies were culturally and economically depleted. In the case of India, the British colonial rule destroyed the economy through the "drain of wealth" and "the decline of handicrafts through factory competition" (Patnaik, 1972, p. 212).

Griffin (1973) asserts that the Europeans used a variety of methods, depending on the region, for the destruction of these societies. These methods depended "upon the precise form taken by European penetration and the wealth, structure and resilience of

the native civilization." Nevertheless the consequences were the same in each region: "a decline in the welfare of the subjugated people."

Consequences of British imperialism in India, specifically the British model of education, can be explained by the dependency theory, "which provides important perspectives for understanding development and underdevelopment" (Henriquez, 1983, p. 397). Dependency theory leans heavily towards classical Marxist view of cultural imperialism and underdevelopment. Further, the dependency theory negates the traditional Marxist view of "the likely effects of capitalist expansion" by emphasizing the social costs incurred as a result of cultural imperialism as opposed to the effects of widespread industrialism. The dependency theory focuses largely on "the interplay between the internal and external structures" rather than on focusing on internal and external structure themselves.

In most Third World countries the educational system is based on a colonialist model of education. Illich and Freire's theoretical models of education had little effect on the educational system in the Third World nations, principally since the adoption and absorption of such ideal models of education are unrealistic in the Third World. The widespread rejection of such ideal educational models is principally based on the rationale that fear of change may threaten the political stability of any particular Third World nation. However, contrary to these ideal theorists (Illich and Freire) Dore's ideas are more pragmatic in nature and have gained acceptance in some Third World countries

such as India.[14]

Barnett (1989) asserts that in most Third World countries education is "highly selective," favours the "wealthy, and holds out the prize of a job in the 'modern' sector." Despite the enrollment increase in primary schools, most financial resources are devoted to secondary and higher education and adult literacy has been neglected. The educational system does not offer much hope for the rural and urban poor as well as girls and women. "For the rural and urban poor, and particularly for girls and women, education offers little except confirmation of their powerlessness and 'failure'" (Barnett, 1989, p. 146).

There is a close connection between educational achievement and elite status. Colonial rule was rationalized and justified by the members of elite who perpetuated and exhibited social graces and manner learned through the colonial model of education. Education was highly valued in colonial societies. It was a means to move from the lower strata of traditional society to achieve elite status within a colonial nation. Argument can be made for the educational system maintaining elitism and class interests, with British colonial model of education being largely responsible for the situation in the colonized Third World. The strata of educated and non-educated, replaced the traditional model of rural and urban dwellers, forging a caste which does not allow even for education of the small villager. Furthermore, the adoption of this newer perspective of educated and non-educated can lead to changes in how society values its children. For example, the city dwellers will

place more emphasis on their career and have fewer children later in life, while the villager will give up on education and focus on having children to help with the farm work with the dream of perhaps one or two of their children gaining access to urban life by being particularly bright. Women especially in rural areas are less likely than men to become educated since they are not expected to continue in school due to historic and cultural factors and partly to British colonialism which created social hierarchy.

Consequences of the British Model of Education in India

In the centuries of colonial domination, English educated elites emerged pre-eminent in the over-all social structure of India. During British rule, a minority of the population of India received a significant measure of support in the sphere of education which enabled them to secure important positions in administrative and commercial life.

It was these English educated elite groups who were in the forefront of the campaign in the political campaigns for self-government and later for independence. However, the leaders of the country failed to restructure the economy and the system of education in such a way to provide the type of jobs and other opportunities to satisfy the aspirations of the country's youths. "Emphasis was placed on the domination of one sector of the population over another and the growth and development of that elite class at the expense of the rural masses" (Di Bona, 1977, p.

618).

Many of the British traditions and practices introduced through the colonial policies have become a permanent feature in India. Thus, as a consequence, the framework of colonial imperialism imposed by the British under the policy of "development" led to an acceptance of the view of India as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial structure which in turn led to the growth of external dependence.

The view of India as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial structure is a direct consequence of a characterizing of India as a colony that needed to be developed as opposed to a nation that wanted to develop.

Development focuses on economic and social change. Its goal is to diminish the differences between economically developed nations and the nations which are economically underdeveloped. Education plays an important role in the process of development of Third World countries by providing training and skills.

The view of development which is based on external dependence, can be confronted largely through a better education for a larger portion of the population, specifically rural. As the growth of a nation can be enriched by a strong sense of nationhood, in theory this sense of nationhood can lead to a stabilization of the rising birthrate. This was not the case seen in India.

Population Growth and Literacy

Higher education leads to a lower birth rate among the educated, which ultimately leads to a lower population growth. This is mainly among the elite who are largely concentrated in urban areas. The concentration of elite in city areas is a direct consequence of British colonialism. Contrary to this, lack of education leads to a higher birth rate and this leads to higher population growth. This problem is largely a rural phenomenon and is the effect of a colonial mindset of domination of society by the educated with the presumption of writing off the uneducated - in this case the rural dwellers.

Population explosion can be alleviated somewhat by educating women. The lack of education among women in developing countries is evidenced by the high proportion of women among the illiterates; consequently more female enrollment should be achieved. Another problem faced by Third World countries is the growing rate of adult illiteracy. Both of these problems were built into the system left behind by the British. The priority should be given to adult and continuing education.

Costs of Education

The financing of educational systems in the Third World is largely in a state of underfunding, with a very small percentage of

Gross National Product spent on education in stark contrast to Western standards. Minimum expenditure on education hinders the educational development. This means that education is considered as relatively unimportant in comparison to the developed nations. The ruling class, which have the same mentality as the colonialist towards the rural poor, still have access to better and higher education since they are prosperous and largely city dwellers. Since this is the case, it seems reasonable to assume that the situation of underfunding and systematic bias towards the elite, will not change.

Summary

The significant points of influence of the British model of education during the colonial period can be summarized as follows.

The unique Indian cultural system was not conducive to the British educational system. This resulted in a very slow educational and social development in a number of ways.

It could be reasonably argued that the introduction of the English language has had both positive and negative consequences. This enabled educated Indian to gain important scientific knowledge. At the same time, the influence of the English language undermined usage of the indigenous language in India.

Further, the British educational system enabled elite easy access to education and, subsequently, the "best" government jobs which were predominately supported by the British at the time.

In addition, contemporary Indian society remains underdeveloped. Many college and university graduate remain unemployed and underemployed. Due to the British presence and influence of the class system, the elite in contemporary Indian society still retain a greater degree of power and influence than does the ordinary individual in determination of social, cultural, and political affairs. This seems to indicate an on going contemporary condition consistent with previous colonial dominance.

As a further consequence, one should note the significance of the replacement of indigenous norms and values by Western culture and education.

Culturally, at the time of colonialism, most women had the lowest social status as they have today. With the withdrawal of British colonialism, the women's condition remained unchanged and did not improve with the inception of the new Indian elite.

Continued lack of education reinforces poverty, high birth rates, superstitions, ignorance, and lack of knowledge of basic civil liberties in a supposedly democratic system. Lack of education negates the attempt to introduce preventative measures such as contraception, hygene, and family planning since the uneducated women, particularly in rural areas, do not have even the basic knowledge to render these measures effective.

It is important that one acknowledges the cultural values of the indigenous population and develops a system that addresses the specific issues of cultural resistance and acceptance rather than resorting to the wholesale importation of Western model of

education. Funding is a major component of a good education. One has to begin in rural areas with local funding that would provide training particularly for women to teach.

Recommendations for Further Study

Some questions for further research that could be addressed include the following:

(i) How were the bureaucrats, members of administrative staff, and superior officers educated during the British colonial period?

(ii) What educational reforms should be pursued specifically to represent values, languages and practice in the Third World countries?

(iii) What should be the educational priorities specifically in the area of curriculum designed for Third World countries?

(iv) With an unrestricted curriculum, how could one avoid underemployment and educated unemployment when selecting a possible educational career in Third World countries?

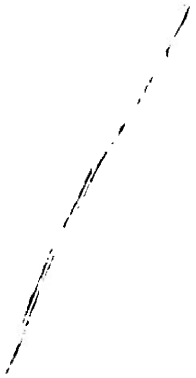
(v) How can education reduce the disparities between rural and urban communities?

(vi) What would be the impact of widespread education on rural communities in Third World countries?

(vii) How can the British model of education be reformulated and modified based on indigenous system of education?

(viii) What are the consequences of British model of education in other countries such as those in South East Asia? Are the consequences similar to those in India? A comparative study would be enlightening.

Further research in several of the above areas could lead to fruitful results.



NOTES

1. For a discussion of "internal colonialism" refer to H. Wolpe (1975) "The Theory of Internal Colonialism: The South African Case." In I. Oxaal, T. Barnett, and D. Booth (eds.) *Beyond the Sociology of Development: Economy and Society in Latin America and Africa*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

2. The purpose of education provided by the British colonial government was not to educate people to serve their country rather, according to Nyerere (1968) its goal was to "inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state." This follows since the British model of education itself was in effect a product of colonialism and capitalism. Furthermore, Nyerere (1968) states that the British educational system "emphasized and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his co-operative instincts. This led to the possession of individual material being the major criterion of social merit and worth" (p. 269). In fact the materialist or capitalist would accumulate even if the objective circumstance did not force him to do so. This is the case since the accumulation of wealth and power is the primary aim of the capitalist in life. Nyerere (1968) further indicates that:

> Colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of weak by the strong especially in the economic field. Colonial education ... was a deliberate attempt to change values and to replace

> traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society (p. 270).

3. One of the founding members of the World-System Theory was Wallerstein (1974). Among others who have contributed to the theory were: Frank, Dos Santos, Emmanuel, and Amin. The principal implication of World-System is that we can not understand the nation-state in isolation, because the "internal" economic processes of any society will be completely shaped by its location in the world-system.

4. Populism is a persuasive form of presenting an idea or a movement. It involves an appeal to people. A charismatic leader's movement against the state is legitimized by a populist movement. Charisma is a characteristic of a leader that leads to authority being granted by the people. As an example, Nyerere can be considered as a populist thinker. For a good discussion on populism see: G. Kitching (1982) *Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective: Populism, Nationalism and Industrialization*. New York: Methuen.

5. For detail features of indigenous system of education see: W. Adam (1941) *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal: 1835 and 1838*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

6. For more detail on cultural imperialism see: M. Carnoy (1974) *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: David McKay.

7. To see the connection between schooling in the colony and political awareness refer to: B. T. McCully (1966) *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith; and J. S. Coleman (ed.) (1965) *Education and Political Development*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

8. Underemployment refers to people who are educated but are not working in their field of education. Educated unemployment in contrast refers to educated people who do not have a job of any kind. Brain drain refers to the loss of students, or highly qualified people who go to developed countries for the purpose of gaining higher education and remain there. It also refers to those who are trained at home, then emigrate to the industrialized nations, particularly the United States.

9. See J. Vaizey (1962), *The Economics of Education*, London: Faber and Faber, pp.15-25, for a discussion of how economists view education.

10. This report is based on the study, *Closing the Gender Gap: Educating Girls* by Population Action International, 1994.

11. For further detail on this see, S. Singh and J. Casterline (1985) "The Socio-Economic Determinants of Fertility." In J. Cleland and J. Hobcraft (eds.) *Reproductive Change in Developing Countries: Insights from the World Fertility Survey*. Oxford: Oxford

University Press.

12. General formula for growth rate:

$$\frac{y_2-y_1}{y_1}*100$$

Developed Countries:

$$\frac{1977-1960}{1960}=\frac{6.4-4.0}{4.0}*100=60\%$$

Developing Countries:

$$\frac{1977-1960}{1960}=\frac{4.1-2.3}{2.3}*100=78\%$$

13. Female literacy was only 24.88% in 1981, and women's education, especially in rural areas has made few advances. In 1991, according to government estimates, the rate of literacy has risen to 52.1% (63.9% males, 39.4% females (Europa World Year Book, 1992: 1361).

14. For more detail on this see R. Dore (1976) *The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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